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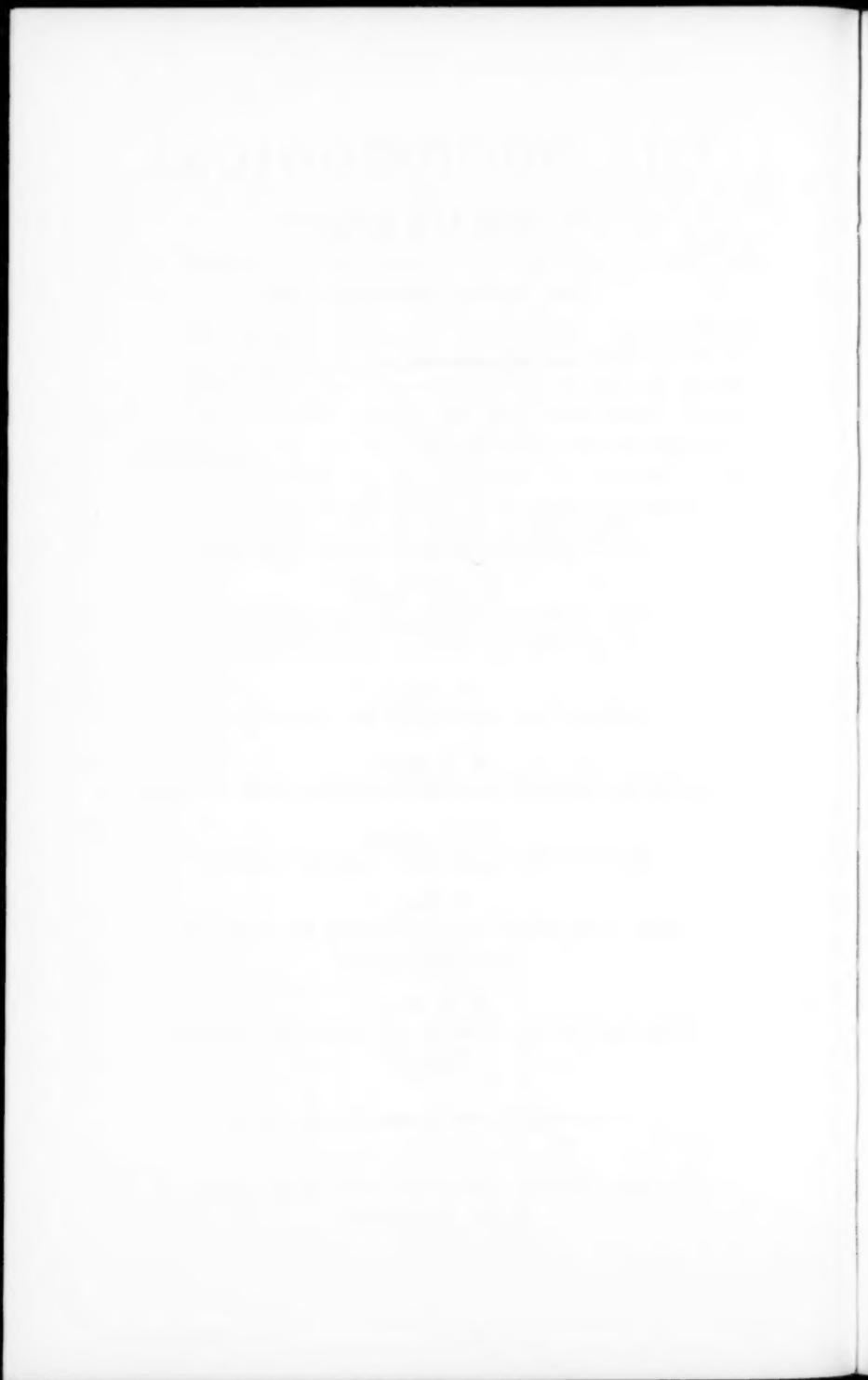
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*The University College of North Staffordshire
Keele, Staffordshire*



The Institute of Sociology

The contribution of the Institute of Sociology in helping to establish the study of sociology in this country is manifest in this article.

The Editorial Board is glad to include this account of the work done, and to acknowledge the part that Mrs. Farquharson herself has played in the affairs of the Institute for over a quarter of a century and perhaps most particularly in the transition period of the last two years.

DISSOLUTION OF THE INSTITUTE OF SOCIOLGY

Dorothea Farquharson

At the Extraordinary General Meeting of the Institute held in London on July 7th, 1955 after the Institute auditor had reported the filing of the Declaration of Solvency, a Special Resolution was passed to dissolve the Institute of Sociology voluntarily, under the provision of the Companies Act, 1948. Thus after half a century of vital activity the former Sociological Society, or Institute of Sociology, as it later became, comes to an end.

Regrets have poured in from all sides: protestations that some means should have been found for its continuance: that the need for such an Institute was never greater: that nothing can ever quite take its place: and so on. But the plain fact is that a learned society of a national and indeed international character cannot hope in these days to maintain itself without substantial financial resources. When after various and vigorous attempts to secure the necessary support had proved unavailing, steps had to be taken to face the present situation to provide against complete breakdown.

The main issue was whether an institution of similar aims could be found to take over what the Institute stood for—its intellectual and spiritual heritage—and provide continuity of ideas and purpose. To find a repository for its material assets presented no difficulty: indeed there are many academic institutions which would gratefully

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have accepted them. It was the question of responsibility for the *Sociological Review* which brought the matter to a head and determined that most of what the Institute had to offer should be transferred to the University College of North Staffordshire.

This is perhaps the place to review the origin, nature and history of the Institute of Sociology. Space will not allow a detailed history; emphasis will be on the development of its influence and function rather than on a chronicle of happenings. The Sociological Society began in 1903. It was first a small group of men concerned to work out a social theory which would react on practice, though they themselves were not necessarily practitioners: it was an urge to interpenetrate every department of human investigation with the scientific idea. The Hon. James Bryce was the founder President and Victor Branford the first Honorary Secretary. Lord Bryce was the first of a line of famous Presidents¹ who made most valuable contributions to sociology. Of foundation members some are still with us—Dr. G. P. Gooch, Bertrand Russell, Lord Samuel, Benchara and Lionel Branford, C. C. Fagg. I pick at random from the giants of those days who were members of the Society: Francis Galton, A. J. Herbertson, Lady Aberdeen, Hilaire Belloc, L. T. Hobhouse, H. J. Mackinder, Bernard Shaw, Graham Wallas, Ray Lankester, Principal Fairbairn, Dr. Garvie, Bernard Bosanquet, Professor Sadler, T. Edmund Harvey, Benjamin Kidd, S. H. Swinney, Dr. J. H. Bridges, Professors Tönnies, Durkheim and Westermarck, Israel Zangwill, Mrs. Humphrey Ward, Sidney Webb, H. G. Wells, Oscar Browning. These were the builders not only of the Sociological Society but also of the study of sociology itself. The work of Vico, Comte and Herbert Spencer had laid a foundation for its structure and it is significant that the date of Spencer's death should coincide with that of the birth of the Sociological Society. Early discussions reported in the first volume of *Sociological Papers* reveal divergent views as to the recognition of sociology as a science on the grounds that it lacked classification, and that though it might have a literature it had no distinctive method. H. G. Wells even urged that the creation of utopias was the proper and distinctive province of sociology. Bernard Shaw opposed this view with the statement that even if some scientific factors are outside the range of sociology there is no ground for saying that no scientific method is possible. Durkheim came to the point with the suggestion that a synthetic framework was needed.²

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A framework for the Society was provided by its programme issued at the first meeting.

- (1) To publish a Journal of Sociology (i.e. *The Sociological Review*).
- (2) To hold meetings for lectures and discussions as customary to an efficiently organised learned society.
- (3) To collect relevant periodicals and books and maintain them for reference in an adequate library.
- (4) To maintain an interest in sociology in the universities and colleges in this country.
- (5) To provide a research centre to aid the progress of systematic sociology.
- (6) To establish and maintain a press for sociological publications.

The journal, lectures, discussion meetings and library soon took shape, and Mr. Martin White provided a fund for the initiation of sociological teaching at London University, which led to the foundation of the Martin White Chair of Sociology, held successively by L. T. Hobhouse and Morris Ginsberg. But the fifth and sixth aims were not achieved till 1920, when Mr. & Mrs. Victor Branford bought 65, Belgrave Road, Westminster, which they named Le Play House. This building provided for the co-ordination of all the activities suggested in the programme. In 1930 the old Sociological Society together with its kindred associations at Le Play House, the Regional Association and the Civic Education League, became by legal Incorporation the Institute of Sociology.

In 1920 Patrick Geddes and Victor Branford took up residence at Le Play House to be joined for a time by Lewis Mumford to help with the *Review* and with conferences. In 1921 Alexander Farquharson joined them and lived at Le Play House from then onwards till his death in February, 1954. It was during this period at Westminster that the influence of Frédéric Le Play (1806-1882) was most strongly felt. His methodological enquiries were essentially scientific for they combined regional work on a comprehensive scale with detailed budgets of individual families. A synthetic framework for the science of sociology was provided by Le Play's doctrine that 'the line of social causation runs from the physical and organic environment (place) through occupation (work) to family life and social institutions (folk) and then back again through the reactions of ideals on family life and social institutions—the reaction of these on

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occupation, and of this on environment.'

From this Geddes worked out his Valley Section: Mr. & Mrs. Branford initiated their Regional Surveys at home and abroad on the place, work, folk basis: the Civic Education League and the Regional Association took shape. There was a definite departure from the purely literary character of the Sociology Society. 'Let's go and see it for ourselves' was Branford's cry; and so field work was henceforth combined with sociological theory and gave to the Le Play House school of sociology a unique character.

The *Sociological Review* had an important function in printing reports of field study meetings and conferences. The survey collections became the most valuable assets of Le Play House. To them belong the five year studies of *Chester City and Region* by Alexander Farquharson, and his *Fifeshire Survey* with their valuable collection of maps and statistical diagrams—these represent work carried out under the auspices of the Carnegie Trust. Here also are to be found Branford's *Survey of Oxford* and Geddes's *Westminster Survey* and studies of cities and regions elsewhere in Britain (for example, Bradford, Louth, Perth, Stirling, Wakefield, etc.) Investigations were also conducted into current social problems in this country and the reports written up—as examples, leisure hour occupations of young people in Southampton, the cinemas and pin-table saloons in the Borough of St. Pancras, youth activities in the Medway towns. In addition there are bound volumes of studies of cities and regions abroad such as those on Breda, Ghent, Paris, Sierre, Provence, the Black Forest, Norway, Brittany, Gascony and so on. Some of these surveys abroad were conducted in countries now behind the Iron Curtain. When the material on these, which is at present unbound and awaiting compilation, has been put together it will have considerable social and historical importance; Carelia, the province of Finland now occupied by the U.S.S.R., is one such area, Slovakia, Hungary, and some Russian cities are others. The whole of this survey collection has been given to the University College of North Staffordshire and it is hoped that in future it will afford a rich field for further sociological research.

Sybella and Victor Branford and Patrick Geddes died between 1927 and 1932. The incorporation of the Institute of Sociology took place in 1930 and the headquarters were moved from Westminster to Gordon Square, Bloomsbury. These were fundamental changes

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and it was now possible to establish closer contacts with the University of London and the London School of Economics in particular. The Branfords had left a bequest to the Institute in the form of a Trust, and the library of Le Play House was extended and became well-known and much used. An Editorial Board was established for the *Sociological Review* which included Sir Alexander Carr Saunders, Professor Ginsberg and Alexander Farquharson, who had in 1930 become the Chief Executive Officer of the Institute. Probably this decade was the most important in the history of the *Sociological Review* so far, for it remained the only learned journal of sociology in this country.

Monthly discussion meetings took place at Le Play House with lectures from such notable scholars as Professor A. J. Toynbee, Dr. Gropius, Professor Znaniecki, Sir Ernest Barker, Dr. G. P. Gooch, Dr. R. R. Marett, Professor von Wiese, Don Luigi Sturzo. One of the most effective activities at this time was the organisation by Professor Marshall and others of the conferences on the relationship between sociology and the allied sciences, reports of which were published in book form and have been regarded as important contributions to social studies. In 1932 Alexander Farquharson became General Secretary of the International Conference on Social Work, an office which he held until 1946. This together with his other responsibilities made an even wider range of contact available to the Institute.

When the War broke out in 1939, all prospects of maintaining activities in London became impossible. Le Play House suffered air raid damage five times and was declared unsafe. A house at Great Malvern was obtained and Le Play House was transferred there and became the wartime headquarters of the Institute. It was no longer possible of course to continue the foreign survey meetings but new possibilities were discovered in local studies. The Institute issued the *Discovery* broadsheets on natural history, local history and present day social conditions which proved valuable for the synthesis of local field work in the biological and social sciences. It should be said that in 1925 a similar project on a smaller scale was launched by the Institute.³ Further pamphlets were issued on social units which are a framework for local study schemes for training colleges and other adult bodies.⁴

Field work was conducted with Army Education Units and the methods were closely followed and adapted where necessary for use

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by the Royal Army Education Corps. Records of the work which the Army groups did both at home and abroad are included in the survey collections.

Perhaps the most distinctive activity in the wartime period was the organisation of conferences on the relationship between sociology and education.⁵ The contribution which these conferences have made to the study of education has been considerable. One Professor of Education who attended and participated in each of the conferences has recently written as follows :

'In a way all this (the dissolution) is very sad. But on looking back at the past thirty or forty years it is evident that a great victory has been won and not a defeat suffered. Think for a moment of the place of sociology *now* in the University world, and compare it with what it was at the beginning of the century. Think of the orientation of our studies in education and of the general awareness of the importance of sociology. In this immense and hopeful development the Institute of Sociology played a tremendous and significant role, and for this all of us have to be grateful.'

In 1943 the Institute was invited to present a memorandum to the MacNair Committee on 'Sociology in the Training Colleges' and it has since then maintained close contact with additional development in this field of work in many different ways.

As the War came to an end, sociology was a much talked of science in connection with planning schemes and post-war reconstruction. Co-operation was established between the Institute and various Planning Associations.

The post-war period was, however, especially difficult for the Institute. The *Sociological Review* had not appeared for some time because of shortage of paper and supplies. The Le Play House staff had to be reduced through lack of funds. Sir Alexander Carr Saunders and Professor Ginsberg withdrew from their work with the *Sociological Review* because the London School of Economics was launching its own journal. In addition steps were being taken for the foundation of a more comprehensive sociological association with a centre in London, a scheme in which the officers of the Institute took part from the beginning. This association could draw on substantial financial resources which were not available to the Institute. The strain in keeping up centres in both London and Ledbury, to which Le Play House was transferred from Great Malvern at the

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close of the War, was too great.

In 1949, the Farquharsons gave warning to the Institute Council that they could not continue for much longer the organisation and administrative work. The situation was made more acute by the illness of Alexander Farquharson. Loss of income to the Institute during the war had been considerable and voluntary service in place of the Farquharsons could not be found. At this point the advice of Lord Lindsay of Birker, who became the first Principal of the new University College of North Staffordshire in 1950, was sought. Lord Lindsay had been a Vice-President of the Institute and knew its aims and activities. After Alexander Farquharson had written to him in 1951 explaining the difficulties in which the Institute was placed, discussions took place at Keele and it was decided that some attempt should be made to obtain funds from national and international trusts. Unfortunately these enquiries produced no result and when Lord Lindsay died in March, 1952, the Institute lost a valued friend while its future and that of the *Sociological Review* in particular were still undecided. However, some members of the academic staff at Keele who took part in the earlier discussions re-opened the matter, and in 1952 it was agreed by the Council of the Institute that the *Sociological Review* should be transferred to the University College of North Staffordshire who would open a New Series in 1953. Those back numbers of the *Review* which remained for the Institute to produce were completed and sent to subscribers by the end of October, 1954.

Mr. Farquharson, despite ill health, continued to act as the Honorary Director and Honorary Treasurer of the Institute, hoping before long to transfer the whole of its activities. At Ledbury there remained the house property, the Institute library of 15,000 volumes and the valuable survey and map collections together with hundreds of lantern slides and other material. The Institute Council decided to give to the University College at Keele that portion of the library which related to the *Sociological Review* which amounted to 10,000 volumes.

The death of Alexander Farquharson in 1954 created a state of emergency in Institute affairs. He had been the mainstay of the movement for the last thirty years. It was decided, after every other possibility had been explored, to sell the Ledbury property as soon

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as possible and then to close down activities. Much discussion had taken place at Council meetings as to the ultimate home for the survey collections. It was decided at the Annual General Meeting on January 4th, 1955, that they also should go to Keele with a special recommendation added at a later meeting that they should be for reference rather than for lending. These records with most of the remaining library books and much of the Le Play House press stock, were transferred to Keele for keeping until the formal transfer was completed. The Ledbury property was sold and, except for a small flat, was evacuated in January, 1955. There remained the question of financial assets. At the Council Meeting held on 7th July, 1955, a Declaration of Solvency was made and, at the Extraordinary General Meeting which followed, a special resolution was passed to wind up the Institute voluntarily under the provisions of the Companies Act, 1948. The Extraordinary General Meeting resolved that the remaining assets be called the Alexander and Dorothea Farquharson Fund and that this should be given and transferred to the University College of North Staffordshire, to be used for the promotion of the objects for which the Institute of Sociology was set up and it was recommended to the University College that due consideration be given to the provisions of a Field Studies Prize from the fund.

The liquidator has yet to call a final meeting at which he will, on behalf of the former officers and Council of the Institute, formally hand over the survey collections, field study records, Le Play House publications and the financial assets to the officers of the University College of North Staffordshire. At this meeting to be held soon, there will be brought together representatives of the old Institute of Sociology and of the recently founded University College.

Dissolution indeed; but we hope also for a worthy re-incarnation.

*Le Play House,
Ledbury.*

¹ Lord Avebury, Lord Balfour, Sir Francis Younghusband, Dr. R. R. Marett, Sir Patrick Geddes, Sir Ernest Barker, Dr. G. P. Gooch, Sir Fred Clarke.

² V. Branford: 'V. V. Durkheim: A Brief Memoir,' *Sociological Review*, Volume X, p. 77. S. H. Swinney: 'Sociology, its Successes and Failures,' *Sociological Review*, Volume XI, No. 1. P. J. Hughesden: 'The Place of Sociology among the Sciences,' *Sociological Review*, Volume XI, No. 2.

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³ The complete stock remaining of *Discovery* broadsheets has now been transferred to The Education Adviser, Young Farmers' Clubs, Green Gates, Bearsted, Maidstone, Kent.

⁴ The remaining supply of these pamphlets can be obtained from the Secretary of the *Sociological Review*, University College of North Staffordshire.

⁵ The addresses given at these conferences have been published by Le Play House in book form: *Synthesis in Education, Sociology and Education, School and Society* and *Whither Civilisation?* All these may be obtained from the Secretary of the *Sociological Review*, University College of North Staffordshire.



THE FAMILY LIFE OF OLD PEOPLE : AN INVESTIGATION IN EAST LONDON

Peter Townsend

'Provision for old age has emerged as a "problem" largely because of the loosening of family ties and insistence on individual rights and privileges to the exclusion of obligations and duties which has developed so markedly in recent years. Whereas families used to accept responsibility for their old people they now expect the State to look after them . . . The care and attention which the family used to provide for them must be provided in some other way.'

Present concern about the growing number of old people springs partly from the assumption that many of them are isolated from their families and from the community. It is widely believed that the ties of kinship are much less enduring than they once were, and that as a consequence the immediate family of parents and young children, of which the individual is a member for only part of his lifetime, has replaced the extended family of three or four generations, of which the individual is a member for all his life, as the fundamental unit of society. Such a development is thought to be one of the features of all industrialised societies which, according to many sociologists and social anthropologists, differentiates them from the so-called primitive societies. In Britain older people are thought to be separated from their children far more frequently than was the case a generation ago, and the care of the elderly is considered to be becoming much more a matter for State intervention and less a matter of filial responsibility. Younger people are often charged with selfishness or neglect² and a rapid expansion in financial, institutional and domiciliary provision for the old is often accepted as the only remedy.

There is considerable doubt, however, whether the elderly are as much on their own as is often assumed or, in fact, whether the kin-

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ship system has changed in the way suggested, even in urban areas. Studies in various parts of Britain, for example, in Hammersmith, Acton, and Wolverhampton,³ have produced evidence of the active relationship between many old people and their kin and of the burden of nursing shouldered by many of their relatives. In the best of the surveys of old age carried out since the war, in Wolverhampton, Dr. Sheldon was struck by the important part played by relatives. He said, with some force, that too little was known about their role. 'It is abundantly clear that to consider the future welfare of old people *in vacuo* would be to overlook a factor of vital importance in the normal social biology of old age. In at least 40% of cases they must be regarded as part of a family group, the ramifications of which bear little or no relation to architectural limitations, and no solution of the problems of old age will be acceptable to the people themselves or to their children which does not take the family factor into account.'⁴

The information about family life gained in most of these inquiries was incidental to their main purpose. They were not directly concerned with the structure and functioning of kinship in this country, so far as old people were concerned. That is precisely the main purpose of a study of kinship now being carried out in the borough of Bethnal Green in East London.⁵ This study, financed by the Nuffield Foundation, is of a random sample of people of pensionable age in the borough. Its purpose is to provide data, by means of intensive interview, about the families of older people living in a mainly working class area and to relate problems of ill-health, retirement, income, companionship and so on, to family structure and relationships. The aim of the present paper is to explore the validity of some of the assumptions commonly made about the family and social life of old people, drawing on part of the information from the inquiry. The broad conclusion of the paper, which presents some of the results of the first 100 interviews, is that for old as well as young in this borough the extended three or four-generation family is not only a reality: for the individual its importance transcends that of all other social institutions or agencies of mutual aid.

Method of Study

Names and addresses of over 250 people of pensionable age in Bethnal Green were obtained at random from the records of general practitioners. Seven of the general practices in the borough were

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The main interview lasted for an average of two hours. After an explanation of the reasons for the call, the interview usually developed into a guided conversation rather than a search for answers to formal questions. Early on in the interview a kinship chart or family tree of the informant was drawn up and many subsequent questions were related to this. The Christian names, ages, occupations and districts of residence of spouse, children, grandchildren, brothers and sisters and so on were noted down, together with an estimate of the frequency of contact with each individual relative. In many cases this proved to be a large task, and in some, because of infirmity, deafness, forgetfulness, misunderstanding and unwillingness, it was difficult to get adequate information. Too much should not be made of such difficulties. The average informant was remarkably generous and went to great lengths to find an answer to some of the questions — searching out birth certificates, funeral cards, family photos, insurance agreements, supplementary assistance books and so on. While the kinship chart of each older person was rarely complete, it usually gave information about more than fifty relatives, including all those in frequent touch with the informant. After the interview both quantitative and qualitative data were written up in the form of an interview record or case-study.

Others in the Home

The first observation to make is that there are relatively few older people living alone. In the country as a whole, at the time of the 1951 Census, 12½ per cent of people aged 60 and over were living alone, and only a further 29 per cent in married pairs. Four and a half million people aged 60 and over in Great Britain, or 58 per cent,

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were living with people in addition to or other than a spouse, nearly all of them with relatives. Indeed, at the time, it seems that as many as 40 per cent of people of that age were living with unmarried, married, or both unmarried and married children.⁶ These figures take no account of relatives living in households in the same dwelling, or nearby.

The degree to which older people live with their children and other relatives varies from one locality to another. According to the report on a field survey carried out just after the war for the Nuffield Foundation, 46 per cent of old people in two London boroughs, 53 per cent in Oldham, 62 per cent in York and 75 per cent in mid-Rhondda, were 'living as householders with their children or lodgers, or living as guests of their children'.⁷ In 1947 almost 50 per cent of old people in Wolverhampton lived with their children, a further 10 per cent with other relatives, about 16 per cent with a spouse only, about 13 per cent with others and about 10 per cent alone.⁸

In Bethnal Green it appears that more old people live alone or only with a spouse than in some other parts of the country, certainly more than in mid-Rhondda or Wolverhampton. Two thirds of the people so far interviewed were living in small flats in private or council blocks, and the remaining third in the two-storey terraced cottages built a century or more ago, which, while their number is diminishing fast, are still common in East London. The following table shows the composition of the households in which the sample of 100 older people were living.

TABLE I
Composition of Households of Men and Women of Pensionable Age

	Others in Household :						
	Alone	Spouse only	Unmarried child(ren) and Spouse if alive	Married child(ren) and/or grandchildren ⁹	Other relatives	Lodgers	Total
Men aged 65+	6	9	5	4	4	2	30
Women aged 60+	15	14	21	14	6	0	70
Total :	21	23	26	18	10	2	100

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The presence of children and other relatives in the homes of older people was more common than their absence, although 16 of the 100 were unmarried or had no child alive. There were 23 households comprising man and wife only, 16 comprising man, wife and at least one unmarried child, and 10 comprising widow or widower and unmarried children. Apart from the 21 single-person households there remained 30 other households. Two of these comprised a widowed person and lodgers and eight comprised various combinations of relatives—a single woman and her sister, a single woman and a female cousin, a widower and a niece, a widow and a grandson and so on. The remaining twenty households, or one in five, could be called 'joint' households in the sense that they included elements of two immediate families. Most of these households comprised old couples or a widowed person and a son or daughter with his or her family. There were also two homes in which lived an old couple, the wife's brother, sister-in-law and nephew, and another in which lived a bachelor, his sister, brother-in-law, nephew and niece.

As age increases, the proportion of older individuals or couples living alone increases but little. It is indeed true, as shown by Table 2, that the average age of those living alone in Bethnal Green was higher than that of those living with other people, but the difference is smaller than might have been expected. The small difference in age between widows living alone and widows living with children and/or others, for example, is of particular interest. Factors other than the age of old people do, in other words, appear to be important in determining whether they do or do not live with members of their families. One is greater infirmity with age. Another is the variety in the constitution of families. The variations in age at marriage of children, age of parents at birth of children, size of family and so on are considerable. In the Bethnal Green sample the age difference between old people and their children varied from 17 to 50; most children married but some did not; some children married early but some not until their fifties. Five widowed people over the age of 80 were living with unmarried children. Five couples in their early or mid-sixties lived on their own although each had at least five children alive. Such variations preclude any very *pronounced* association between advancing age and household composition.

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TABLE 2
Age of Older People Living Alone and with Others

	Average Age	Number
All women ...	70	70
Women living alone	72½	15
Married women living with husband only	68	14
Married women living with husband and child(ren)	67	13
Widows living alone	73	14
Widows living with children and/or others	72½	21
All men ...	72	30
Men living alone	76	6

Living Near Relatives

Many old people live near relatives, even when not with them. In this borough, although in the last twenty or thirty years it has lost more than half its population, many older people have large numbers of relatives living nearby. This applies to those living alone or only with a spouse as well as those living with others. Table 3 shows how many relatives of two groups of older people, distinguished by the presence or absence of others in the home, were living within a mile.¹⁰

TABLE 3
The Proximity of Relatives

	Numbers of Relatives living within 1 mile						
	None	1-3	4-9	10-19	20-30	Over 30	Total
Older people living alone or with spouse only	4	3	18	8	7	4	44
	$\underbrace{15.9\%}$		$\underbrace{84.1\%}$				100%
Older people living with others in addition to or instead of spouse	7	5	12	15	12	5	56
	$\underbrace{21.4\%}$		$\underbrace{78.6\%}$				100%

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One in four of the older people living alone or only with a spouse reported they had 20 or more relatives within a mile. This proportion was slightly higher in the case of people living with others. The average person had at least 15 relatives living within a mile. A minority gave information about more than 30 such relatives, three people about more than 50. These figures exclude the many relatives living in other parts of East London and Greater London. One widow living with a son, daughter-in-law and grandchildren, had no other relatives in Bethnal Green, but had six other married children in other parts of East and Greater London who, with or without their families, visited her frequently, one of them daily and others at least once or twice a week.

Seventy-two of the hundred informants, or about three in every four, were members of effectively functioning three- or four-generation family groups in one, two or more households in close proximity. By 'effectively functioning family' is meant a unit of related people performing reciprocal services, sharing in many activities and rarely seeking outside aid for the tasks of home-management, child-rearing, nursing care and so on. Children and grandchildren or sisters and nieces living nearby were as much an integral part of the lives of old people as relatives living in the same household. This wider family group possessed its own home-helps, baby-sitters, child-care committees, nurses, advice bureaux, holiday organisers and social workers.

General statements such as these take on meaning only when backed by detailed illustrative and statistical evidence. Here I will attempt only a preliminary indication of this evidence. The following summary of part of one of the case-studies illustrates some of the characteristic features of the three- or four-generation extended family in Bethnal Green. While the use of the word 'typical' would be misleading the example provides instances of family loyalties no more remarkable than in a third to a half of the total number of case-studies collected. Among the remainder, of course, were a number of people with no children and some who had no brothers or sisters still living.

Mrs. Angel,¹¹ aged 62, lives with her husband in a four-room terraced cottage, a stone's throw from one of the Bethnal Green markets. She has a cat and dog, a budgerigar and, in the back yard, a few hens. Her husband, a builder's labourer, aged 65, has not yet retired but he has been off work for seven months suffering from

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stomach ulcers and high blood pressure. He recently had a month in hospital. His firm continues to pay him a small allowance and he and his wife also receive £2 12s. od. sickness benefit. Income from their children varies from 10s. to 20s. a week and Mrs. Angel emphasised that this would increase if her husband's firm stopped its allowance. Of her children she said: 'They're very good. One will come in and give me 2s. 6d. or 5s. Another puts 2s. in the gas and they bring round a box of chocolates. They'd all help me out if I was in trouble. It would be their duty, just like we did for our parents.' Mrs. Angel has three sons and two daughters alive (having lost two other children). The eldest son lives in North London and though he visits his mother only about once a month, his wife and five children come much more frequently. The eldest boy spends an afternoon and evening at his grandmother's home every week and he then does various jobs for her. The second son lives a few streets away and he, his wife and child spend Sunday afternoon and evening at his mother's home. The youngest son and the youngest daughter both live within a hundred yards with their families and call often, staying for two or three hours every day. The eldest daughter, whose husband keeps a vegetable stall in the nearby market, lives five minutes' walk away and calls round every morning and the second daughter, although she recently moved to a new housing estate in Essex, comes to see her mother every Tuesday evening and Saturday morning.

Mrs. Angel's two brothers and one of her sisters live elsewhere in East London, but another sister lives in the same street with her husband and a single daughter. Three nieces, a nephew and two cousins, with their families, live within half a mile. Altogether nearly forty relatives live within a mile. Ten of them are seen every day or nearly every day and sixteen at least once a week. Mrs. Angel is slightly infirm and can no longer do all her housework, though she does the cooking. Her eldest daughter takes her washing and her youngest daughter does most of the heavy cleaning, the odd jobs about the house, and a good deal of the shopping. Her husband, partly because of his illness, 'just sits. He puts his feet up on the sofa. I don't ask him to do anything.' In the event of illness, 'I lean on the youngest the most. If she couldn't do anything then she'd call my other daughter.' Mrs. Angel frequently minds her daughters' children. 'I mind their children when they go out. So long as they

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 behave themselves. I had five of them here last Saturday. There's generally three or four of them here at the week-end. Dad says the baby is keeping him alive.' At another point she said, 'What makes me happiest now is with my grandchildren, when I've got them all round me. That's when I feel right happy. My husband don't like too much noise but I say the more the merrier.' Every year Mrs. Angel goes with one of her sons and her two married daughters, all with their families, to the hopfields in Kent for a month.

This is an individual case which may convey something of the intensity and importance of family life to many older people in the area. The particular pattern of that life varies widely according to the constitution and 'spread' of the extended family as well as to the personality, education and occupations of individual members. While the detail cannot be described here, one or two principal features of family life may be indicated.

Sons and Daughters

Eighty-four of the hundred informants had at least one child alive. Between them they had 301 surviving children. Fifty-three per cent of these, or 159, lived with their parents or within a mile. More daughters lived near their parents than sons, 56 per cent living within a mile, as compared with 50 per cent of sons.

TABLE 4
Proximity of Sons and Daughters

	Same household	Within 5 mins. walk ¹²	Within 5-15 mins. walk ¹³	East London Region ¹⁴	London	Elsewhere	Total	Total No.
Sons %	18	18	14	29	13	8	100	143
Daughters %	20	20	16	28	10	6	100	158
All children %	19	19	15	29	11	7	100	301

All the children of some of the old persons lived within a few minutes' walk and most if not all the children of others lived some distance away. Table 4 might conceal the possibility that a substantial number of old people had no child near them and it is useful to distinguish where the nearest child lived. The result is striking. All but 9 of the 84 with children had at least one child living with them or within 15 minutes' walk.

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TABLE 5
Proximity of Nearest Child

	In same household	Within five mins.	Child living within 5-15 mins.	East London	Outer London	Elsewhere	Total
% of older parents	51	25	13	7	4	0	100
Number of older parents	43	21	11	6	3	0	84

Whether children live near their parents or not does not reveal how often they meet. When interviewed, the older people were asked how often they saw each of their children and other relatives. Whenever possible they were also asked, as a check, when they last saw each named relative. It is difficult to know just how reliable were their statements about the frequencies with which they saw different relatives. My opinion is that they are on the whole reliable. Answers were often consistent with answers to other questions in the interview, (e.g. care during illness, looking after grandchildren, holidays) and also with the direct observation of the interviewer. One widow, for example, who said her youngest daughter spent a good part of the day with her, was seen on four subsequent occasions: on three of these her daughter was in the house. There was also evidence of the striking regularities in the lives of older people. Such regularities seemed to be reflected in many emphatic statements—'I see him *every Saturday*'—'I see her every day.' The following type of statement was quite common. 'My daughter comes every day to get my shopping before she goes to work. She collects Peter (a grandson) on her way home. Ted calls round with his wife on their way home from work on Tuesdays and Thursdays. Wednesdays I go to the Club. I go over to Albert's (a son living on a new housing estate on the edge of London) every other Saturday and stay till Sunday night. The other week-ends I go to my daughter's.' A few women, pressed to say what they meant when they said 'not very much' in reply to a question about how often they saw a child, explained that they saw him or her 'only about once a week.'

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From the answers to questions about children it appears that about a third of the sons and over half the daughters were seen every day or nearly every day. Only 22 of the 301 children, or nine per cent, were seen less often than once a month.

TABLE 6
Frequency of Contact

	Daily	15 2 or 3 times in week	Weekly	1 to 3 times a month	1 to 11 times a year	Not seen in last year	Total	Total No.
Sons %	32	22	16	20	8	2	100	143
Daughters %	52	15	11	18	4	0	100	158
All children	43	18	13	19	6	1	100	301

Living Together or Apart?

Thirty-four of the forty-four older people living alone or only with a spouse had children alive. Why were they not living with one or more of them? A superficial and inadequate answer to this general question would be that they were economically self-sufficient, that all their children were married and had no room for them, or would not have them in their homes unless their infirmity or bereavement aroused feelings of guilt and compassion. A full answer would involve a statement of the principles governing the functioning of the extended family and the relations between its individual members. Identification of these principles should provide a much more exact explanation of the household situation of the elderly in terms other than those simply of physical or economic well-being or of compatibility of temperament.

The relationship with the children obviously changes upon their marriage. The parents still have claims on the attentions of the child and these are often in conflict with those of the spouse, even if that conflict is no more than latent. Old people in Bethnal Green preferred to live *near* their married children, not with them. To live with a married child, they believed, was to invite that open conflict with the child's spouse they preferred to avoid, to interfere with the marital obligations of man and wife and to lose part of their own independence in the management of their daily affairs. Their interests, and those of their children (so most of them believed) were served best by

The Family Life of Old People: An Investigation in East London living near rather than with them, however much they loved and wanted to see each other. In this way both parents and children were able to make an adjustment in their relationship which preserved deeply-rooted kinship ties without prejudicing the new ones formed upon a child's marriage. The following statements were characteristic :-

(1) A married woman whose three children were all unmarried and living with her said: 'I'd rather them get a place on their own. They get into married life. If you live with your parents you're upstairs to mother. One (the child) would be downstairs and leave the other one (the spouse) upstairs moping. You're more your own master when you're independent.'

(2) A married woman, who spent hours each day with her only child said, 'My girl would live next door if she could. It's best not to live together (when the children marry). If it's only one room, you're best on your own. As much as I love my girl, I think it's right not to live in the same place.'

(3) A married woman living with husband and unmarried son said, 'It's not a good idea. My mother was an angel from heaven. We lived with her most of our married life. There was times when you wanted the place to yourself. I always said to my husband that my mother was an angel from heaven and we wouldn't have been without her.' She looked at her husband for confirmation but he averted his eyes and said nothing.

(4) A widow, living alone, said both her married sons who were living on a new housing estate some miles away had offered her a home with them but she had refused. 'Young people should be on their own. They want a bit of privacy. I'd rather young couples live on their own. Mind you, I'd like to live near—one of those nice bungalows there is for old people (on the housing estate). That's what I'd like.'

This preference for living near rather than with married children was held irrespective of whether all, some or none of the children had married. This is shown by Table 7. As might be expected, those actually living with married children were least sure of their attitude. Disarming and ambiguous remarks, such as 'It's alright if you can agree alright' or 'We've had our little ups and downs naturally,' sometimes made it difficult to ascertain their true feelings. This problem was accentuated where the child was also present at the

The Family Life of Old People: An Investigation in East London interview or where the old person was mentally and physically infirm. Two-thirds of the group were widows, and most of them were either infirm or had only one or two children, a factor which may make a shared household more practicable. In some of the remaining cases 'household' was understood in a very narrow sense. Four people, while living in the same house as their children and co-operating in most activities, inside as well as outside the home, put forward the paradoxical view that they and their children were not 'living together,' mainly, it seemed, on the ground that they had separate kitchens and generally had a separate evening meal.

TABLE 7
Attitude of Older People to Living with Married Children

Attitude to living with married children	Household situation			Total
	Not living with married children		Living with married children	
	Children all married	Unmarried children at home		
Not live with but live near ...	39	26	4	69
Good, workable or doubtful ...	1	1	10	12
Not ascertained	1	1	1	3

The recognition of the obligations imposed by marriage not merely on a daughter and her husband but also on their parents is one explanation of why most older people preferred not to live with their married children. The old person is usually a pivotal figure in the extended family. Through his children he has sons- and daughters-in-law and grandchildren; through his wife and his siblings he has brothers- and sisters-in-law and nephews and nieces. The network of kinship, varying in texture, quality and strength, has imposed upon him obligations of the greatest intricacy and subtlety. For example, to live with one child may produce a charge of favouritism from the other children and lead to a falling off in the frequency of their visits; it may incur the scorn or disapproval of an elder sister still maintaining a proud independence. The question of the make-up of the

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household is not one simply of individual preferences: it is one of adjustment to the manifold obligations of kinship.

The Two Circles of Kin

Relatives other than sons and daughters often played an important role in older peoples' lives. There were sometimes very close relationships with brothers and sisters, nephews and nieces and cousins living near. There were usually two fairly distinct groups of kin. First were those relatives living in the same household and nearby who were seen regularly and frequently, the group of intimate kin, who did each other's shopping and household tasks and cared for each other in illness. They included the daughters who came to wash and polish the floors and seek the opinion of Mum on a host of matters. They included the sons who came to a midday meal from work, brought gifts and repaired broken chairs and hinges on doors. They included the grand-children who came while their parents were at work, and sisters who dropped in for an afternoon chat. Of all ages, from a few days to ninety, they depended on each other for their everyday needs.

Second were those relatives who were seen less frequently and usually on ritual and holiday occasions—the group of recognised kin with whom there was some association in the course of a year. These were often brothers and sisters, nephews and nieces, cousins and so on living some distance away who were seen at funerals, weddings, birthdays and christenings and over the Christmas, Easter, Whitsun or summer holidays. On a number of these occasions, such as a wedding, an attendance of fifty or more relatives was reported. There was often a large family gathering for a golden wedding anniversary or even a birthday.¹⁶ On Christmas Eve it was common to receive visits from those outside the circle of intimate kin and on Christmas Day and Boxing Day to have dinner and tea at the homes of different relatives.¹⁷

It is difficult to present in outline the function of the two circles of intimate and peripheral kin, but it is clear that the distinction is a valid one. Table 8 summarises the information supplied by the hundred people in Bethnal Green about the frequency of contact with relatives. The average person had ten relatives with whom there was regular daily or weekly contact and a further 20 relatives who were seen less frequently in the course of a year.

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TABLE 8
Contact of Old People with Relatives

Number of Relatives seen :	At least 1 a week :	At least 1 a year :
0-3	10	2
4-9	49	6
10-19	29	20
20-29	11	21
30-59	1	45
60 and over	0	6
Total number of Old People :	100	100

Average number of Relatives seen each week: 10·6

Average number of Relatives seen each year: 30·3

The Narrowing Circle

It would be wrong to give too strong an impression that the relatives of older people are permanently available, in the sense that they tend to live in the same places and occupy the same roles within the family, year after year. And it would also be wrong to give the impression that no older people in Bethnal Green become isolated. These two points deserve elaboration, for they help to put the previous discussion in perspective.

Throughout his life an individual is a member of an effective kinship group distributed over a number of households, held together through the common services and activities that go on among and between them. The extended family is the only group of which a man is a member from the moment of his birth to the moment of his death. It is continually re-generating itself through the cycle of birth, marriage and death, enrolling new members as old members die. As time passes, an individual marries and so gains a new set of affinal kindred. As he gets older, children and grand-children take the place of parents and siblings as intimate companions. Wife takes the place of mother, daughter of wife. Even if he has no children he is usually able to call on nephews or nieces or cousins, if not siblings, of his own and of his spouse. And if he never marries he may nevertheless play an important role as a universal aunt throughout his adult life. Again and again, when considering who are the close relatives of

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an older person it becomes clear that one of the chief functions of the extended family is to provide, for the individual, replacements for those of his intimate kin he may lose by death, or migration. A second function is to provide substitutes for children, grandchildren or siblings he may never have acquired. There are therefore not only parent-substitutes, but also sibling and child-substitutes. The kinship system is therefore, in one meaningful sense, a self-balancing or self-correcting institution to which the principles of substitution and replacement are fundamental.

In Bethnal Green unmarried older people tended to see more of and live nearer their siblings than married people. Unmarried and married people without children tended to see more of their nephews and nieces and grand-nephews and nieces than those with children and to have very close relationships with some of them. And sometimes it appeared even that sons of widows who had lost their husbands early in life deliberately put off marriage so that they could live with their mothers. One spinster had set up house with a widowed nephew only a few years her junior. A bachelor lived with his married sister and her family. A married man with an ailing wife and no children reported that a niece living nearby spent several hours of each day with them. A widower without children lived with a niece and was visited daily by a married sister living nearby. A widow of 80 whose husband died young and who had just lost her sixty-years old son said he had never married because 'he always thought too much of his mother. He was always so proud of his mother. When he was at the hospital, they said he never talked about anyone else. They said they'd never heard a son talking about his mother like that. He never got worried about women. I miss him, oh, how I miss him. He used to keep the home going. We were never apart. We always used to sit together in the afternoon in the two armchairs. We were always going out together.'

It is therefore difficult to understand the particular relationships of older people except in the context of the wider family. What is evident is that for most older people the lack of a spouse or of children is not often a crippling handicap, for the simple reason that they usually have other relatives who act as replacements or substitutes within the circle of intimate kin of three or four generations. It seems also to be true that the fewer available relatives an old person has, the more intense is his relationship with them.

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This latter hypothesis has a close bearing on the situation, now and in the future, of elderly people in our society. It is widely believed that the advent of the smaller family in this century, particularly in the last thirty years, means that fewer people are likely to be adequately cared for, and more people are likely to be isolated, in old age. A large family is felt to ensure companionship and care in the last years of life.

This question deserves special attention but it is perhaps worthwhile to examine such evidence as has been obtained in Bethnal Green. A large proportion of the older people had five or more surviving children but an even larger proportion had only one or two. Table 9 shows the frequency of contact between older people and their children, according to the number they had.

TABLE 9
Frequency of Contact with Sons and Daughters

	Older People with the following Living Children :		
	Five or More	Three or Four	One or Two
Times seeing average son per week ...	3.8	4.5	5.7
Times seeing average daughter per week	4.3	7.0	10.8
Total number of older people	27	22	35

It appeared that those with one or two children saw both daughters and sons, on average, more frequently than those with three or four children and much more frequently than those with five or more children. These averages naturally conceal variations between and within similarly constituted families and it should be emphasised that four in five of the old people with large families were in daily touch with at least one of their children. The important point is that most older people were in regular daily contact with at least one of their children, whether they had one child or five; those with five times as many children did not have five times as many contacts with their children. A remarkable fact was the intensity of relationship within the one and two child family. Only three of the 35 people

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with one or two children saw these children less than once a week and only seven less than once a day.

The foregoing points are vital to our deliberations about family life. There are dangers in generalising too readily from statistics showing the decline in the numbers of children born to parents. We can see not only the width of the extended family but also the way in which intensity of family ties may offset inadequacies in the numbers of relatives there are. A person with few relatives tends to offset the handicap by a greater intensity of affective involvement in family relationships. The circle of relatives may be narrower but not correspondingly less interdependent.

This argument cannot be taken too far. When people get older they are, of course, liable to lose relatives of their own generation and of the previous generation. Twenty-one of the hundred older people in Bethnal Green had no brother or sister still living and most of the remainder only one or two. There may be no children or grandchildren to replace these losses. Sixteen of the hundred people had no children alive. Even if the effects of geographical and social mobility on the family are ignored, a minority of older people are bound to have fewer and fewer close relatives on whom to rely for help and companionship as time goes on. The flexibility of the extended family is such that the loss of intimate kindred can often be made good, in one sense, through the availability of other relatives, although the loss of really close relatives, such as a husband or wife or a child, may never be made good in the fully qualitative sense. The very size of the extended family will sometimes determine what limits there can be to the process of substitution or replacement. In Bethnal Green there was an important minority of isolated people among the hundred interviewed. Their problems merit separate analysis and here it must be emphasised only that although there are older people who are isolated from intimate family groupings, the evidence from the present limited inquiry suggests first, that there may be fewer of these than is often thought and second, that their isolation seems rarely to be a result of the weakening of family ties but usually the result of the non-existence or death of relatives.

Summary and Conclusion

A limited inquiry now proceeding in East London is designed to throw light on the family and other social relationships of old people. In this paper an attempt has been made to bring forward some of the

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more general evidence that has so far emerged from that inquiry to test the assumption, made by many people, that older people tend to become isolated from their families. The evidence refers only to a small random sample of people in a working-class urban area and a detailed description of the specific roles and functions of relatives within different domestic and extended family units has been avoided.

The chief finding was that for the great majority of older people the domestic unit and the primary social unit was the three- or four-generation segment of an extended family in one, two or more households in close proximity. It was impossible to understand the social situation of the elderly except in this context. Most old people had many contacts with close relatives in the immediate district, and those without such contacts, a very small minority, were generally people who had not had children or who had lost most of their siblings and other relatives through death or migration. A distinction can be drawn between intimate and peripheral relatives, and those lacking or losing intimate kin (husbands, wives or children), tended to form close attachments instead with other relatives, through the familial principles of substitution and replacement. Those with fewest children and other near relatives tended to have greatest contact with them, quantitatively and qualitatively. From a practical point of view, once more knowledge is gained about the constitution and operation of the extended family, it may become easier to assess the significance, now and in the future, of the various problems of old age—of ill-health and infirmity, domiciliary and institutional care, income, housing, loneliness and isolation.

The existence of close family ties for the majority of old people in the area studied does not, however, mean there are no isolated people, no family strain, no quarrels. There are lonely people. There are people in poverty. There are people who have needs which are not, or cannot be, met either by their families or the formal social services. These questions will be discussed in the full report of this study.

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¹ Sir Geoffrey King, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Pensions and National Insurance: 'Policy and Practice,' *Old Age in the Modern World*, Report of the Third Congress of the International Association of Gerontology, Livingstone, London, 1954, p.45.

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² Current references to the remarkable strength and solidarity of the family life of previous generations are not altogether confirmed by contemporary evidence. For example, many of the reports by clergy and social workers on the condition and circumstances of older people that were collected by Charles Booth at the end of the last century included observations of the following kind:- 'The disinclination of children to help aged parents is a painful feature at present. Family ties are less strong than formerly.' *The Aged Poor in England and Wales*, Macmillan, 1894, p.256.

³ Lulie A. Shaw: 'Impressions of Family Life in a London Suburb,' *The Sociological Review*, December, 1954. *Over Seventy*, N.C.S.S., 1954. J. H. Sheldon: *The Social Medicine of Old Age*, Report of an Inquiry in Wolverhampton. O.U.P., 1948.

⁴ *Ibid.* p.156.

⁵ A more general study of kinship is also being carried out in the same area. See Michael Young: 'Kinship and Family in East London,' *Man*, September, 1954.

⁶ Calculated from Part II of the Census of 1951. One per cent sample tables V.I., VI (1-8).

⁷ *Old People*, Report of a Survey Committee on the Problems of Ageing and the Care of Old People. O.U.P., 1947, p.24.

⁸ *Op.cit.* pp. 140-145.

⁹ And spouse, if alive.

¹⁰ It was not possible to obtain full genealogies for each old person. The figures are therefore on the low side and refer almost exclusively to near relatives, meaning relatives by blood or through marriage, no more distant than first cousins or nephews and nieces and their children.

¹¹ The name and a few unimportant details have been altered to prevent identification.

¹² Within 5 mins. walk (e.g. same street, three blocks of flats distant, etc.).

¹³ Less than a mile distant.

¹⁴ Including the eastern fringes of Outer London, for the reason that there is direct underground service from Bethnal Green.

¹⁵ 'Daily' refers mainly to those living with parents or seeing them once or twice a day, but in one case in every seven it refers to those seeing their parents four or five times a week.

¹⁶ One widow of seventy-six, who lived alone, said of her birthday just two weeks before the interview, 'I've never had such a birthday. I didn't know about it either (beforehand). My eldest son took a place in Hazel Street. They got the room done up and then we all went along. All the family. There were more than 30 of us. We had a nice tea and a lovely cake and a good booze-up at night time. We made our own amusement. And I sung like blazes. My eldest son arranged it all and the wives helped. Some of us were under the table, I can tell you, at the end.'

¹⁷ The following is an extract from a tape-recording of a recall interview with a married woman in her early sixties, who provided information about the gatherings of her extended family.

Q. You mentioned to me before, something that interested me about Christmas. You said you always used to gather together.

A. Every year, I think its about 40 years.

Q. At your mother-in-law's. How many used to be there?

A. Well it started with about 12 of us and ended up with 50 of us.

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- Q. Well, how did you ever get in?
A. We didn't get in, we had to squeeze in.
- Q. Was it for Christmas dinner, or just in the evening, or what do you mean when you gathered there?
A. Well, a few years ago, before the war, we used to go there Christmas tea-time. We used to have our Boxing Day dinner round there and tea, and we used to come home Boxing night. We always stayed round there, always. Then Boxing afternoon we'd play cards, you know, like that, but we've always been round there.
- Q. But who managed it all? Did your mother-in-law cook?
A. Yes, she done the dinner with a couple of the girls. You see our children was little then. Well the little ones didn't use to count much. When they're grown up they take more room. Well, there's 11 children and 11 husbands and their children. Well, now there's the children grown up, the children's married and got their children. Well, that makes the family bigger still.



THE 'COLOUR PROBLEM' IN BRITAIN:^{*} A STUDY IN SOCIAL DEFINITIONS

St. Clair Drake

The publication, since 1947, of a number of books and scientific articles dealing with race relations within the United Kingdom might be viewed as one facet of a process, extending over the last thirty-five years, in which various aspects of the contact between white and coloured people in Britain have been undergoing definition as 'social problems'—the term being used to refer to *specific social conditions which are regarded by a considerable number of people as undesirable, and about which these people believe that 'something ought to be done.'*¹

When a social problem is undergoing definition within contemporary Western societies, some of the people who are concerned tend to associate themselves together for activity designed to 'mobilize public opinion' and to 'seek solutions' to the problem. Individuals occupying status positions within various institutions may find themselves expected to act with reference to the emerging problem definitions. The whole web of interacting associations, committees, and segments of institutions acting at any given moment, with reference to a social condition which is being defined as a social problem, might be referred to as an 'action-structure.' For purposes of analysis, it is possible to isolate, conceptually, a 'race relations action-structure' in the British Isles. This article is concerned with the development of that action-structure and some of its theoretical implications.²

Two American sociologists, Fuller and Myers, have suggested that, '. . . problems which are national in scope do not blanket the country with the same stage of development . . . there may be no

* This article is based upon interviews and observations made in the British Isles during the summer and winter of 1947, and the winter and spring of 1948, under a grant from the Julius Rosenwald Fund and upon subsequent research in published and unpublished sources made possible through a grant-in-aid to Roosevelt University from the Marshall Field Foundation.

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discussion of policies relative to race discrimination in B, whereas the people of A are intensely occupied with such a discussion.³ This is essentially a common sense observation which the British data certainly confirm.

*The same sociologists have also suggested that when a social problem is being defined it . . . passes through the natural history stages of awareness, policy determination, and reform . . .*⁴ They have demonstrated the existence of these 'stages' in a piece of empirical research on a newly developing social problem in an American city. They state, however, that for some 'traditional, older, more pervasive problems,' among which they include race relations in the United States, 'we cannot go back into history to trace the first awareness of social groups defining such conditions as problems.' The contemporary British race relations situations,⁵ because they are relatively recent in their origins, may allow us to examine this 'natural history' formulation as it applies to race relations.

An examination of the social history of Britain for the last forty years reveals that soon after the First World War, in some of the seaports and in London, small groups of people within both the working-class and the middle-class, began to view the presence of coloured seamen in their communities as 'undesirable.'⁶ This article attempts to analyse the manner in which social problems have been defined around race relations in three of the oldest race relations areas in Britain, *viz.*, Cardiff, Liverpool and London, and to compare the processes operative there with those at work in two 'newer' race relations situations.

At first, a colour problem, *per se*, did not undergo definition, but rather, a number of discrete social problems centring around the presence of coloured people were defined. One segment of the British race relations action-structure, however, has persistently tried to focus attention upon the 'colour-bar' as the most important problem in the field of race relations.

The Cardiff and Liverpool Race Relations Situations : 1919-1935.

The history of race relations in contemporary Britain begins with the Race Riots of 1919. These disturbances involved attacks by small numbers of white people upon coloured seamen living in the docks areas of Cardiff, Liverpool, London, Glasgow, Newport, and on the Tyneside. Despite their unorganized character and the com-

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plex motivations of the participants, this violent action was the opening move in a chain of events leading toward the definition of a coloured alien seaman problem.⁸ Fear of redundancy and the lowering of wage rates in a period of declining employment made British seamen anxious to eliminate the competition of *all* alien seamen. Since coloured men who were signed on in the colonies were paid a lower wage than seamen signed on in Britain, their competition was particularly feared.⁹

There had been no overt conflict between coloured and white seamen during the First World War. During the post-war period, however, the presence of coloured seamen in the ports was visualized by some white seamen as presenting an economic threat. The branches of the National Union of Seamen in Cardiff, Liverpool and London, brought the widespread apprehension to a focus. The definition of coloured seamen as 'undesirable competitors' was brought to the attention of national union leaders; the circle of awareness began to spread within the union; pressure was exerted to demand a determination of policy. Influential citizens in these two communities, some of whom were not connected with unions, favoured the 'repatriation' of coloured seamen, on either a voluntary or compulsory basis.¹⁰ There were, however, no legal grounds upon which coloured men who were British subjects could be forced to go home. It did seem possible, however, to eliminate coloured aliens from the labour market by repatriation and either to set quotas on the number of coloured British subjects, or to eliminate them by union pressure on employers not to hire them. In fact, the inability of coloured seamen to secure work, coupled with the inability of Government to repatriate them legally, created a group of resident coloured British subjects who were largely dependent upon public assistance for their survival.

A Coloured Alien Seamen's Order was passed in 1925 after considerable discussion and debate which provided for registration and a check upon the movements of such seamen. Thus, within six years, the coloured alien seaman problem had passed through the stages of awareness, policy determination, and policy implementation.¹¹ The discussions revealed a conflict of values in which 'protecting one's own' was counterposed to 'working-class solidarity,' and 'the preservation of civic peace' to 'the right of British subjects to live and work in Britain.' Awareness having been created, policy

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determination and implementation, re-occur from time to time in various places.

Between 1925 and 1930, another discrete problem was undergoing definition—the half-caste problem. As coloured children born of white mothers began to appear in dockside schools, and a few years later, on the labour market, the attention of some middle-class people in Cardiff and Liverpool became centred on the fate of these children. The first organisation in contemporary Britain oriented specifically toward race relations within the United Kingdom seems to have been the Liverpool Association for the Welfare of Half-Caste Children which was founded during this period.

The first piece of systematic research on race relations in the British Isles was sponsored by the Association for the Welfare of Half-Caste Children. The report on the inquiry (*The Fletcher Report*)¹² suggested that the best way to solve the half-caste problem was to prevent any further increase in the number of half castes and that the best way to achieve this end was to replace all coloured firemen by white men on British ships coming to the United Kingdom. This recommendation was resented by coloured seamen and the leaders of coloured organisations. An official inquiry into employment opportunities for coloured youth was also suggested as well as the appointment of a special welfare officer to deal with coloured families. The special officer was not appointed, but various attempts were made to aid the coloured young people.¹³ Thus, over a four year period, in Liverpool, we can trace this problem through the stages of awareness, policy determination and the first steps in policy implementation. The same process can be observed in Cardiff, although no special organisation was started in Cardiff to deal with half-castes.¹⁴

During the late twenties the Loudon Square Methodist Church in Cardiff expressed some concern over the fate of the coloured people living in its dockside parish. Out of the interest of this church came a comparative study of the living conditions of 'Negro working-class families' in Cardiff and London. It was financed by the Waddilove Fund of the Wesleyan Church and carried out by a woman who had had some training in the social sciences. In contrast to the Fletcher Report, this one (*The Nancy Sharpe Report*) insisted that coloured British subjects had every legal and moral right to live and work in Britain. The author's recommendations as to half-castes were similar to those made in Liverpool. She also, gently, but

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pointedly, assailed racial discrimination in the churches ('cobwebs across the church door') and reminded her readers that the Communists who were wooing the seamen had no such colour-bar. This report was completed in 1932 but was never published.

The reference to Communists in the Sharpe Report reflected the fact that one segment of the race relations action-structure during the late twenties and early thirties was allied to the international Communist movement. Within the N.U.S. itself, there was a caucus known as The Seamen's Minority Movement which espoused the cause of coloured seamen. In Cardiff, an organisation was started in 1927 called the Colonial Defence Association under reputedly Communist leadership. It was an aggressive spokesman and helped the seamen to formulate counter-definitions.

The London Race Relations Situation: 1919-1935†

Between 1919 and 1930, while a coloured alien seaman problem and a half-caste problem were undergoing definition in Cardiff and Liverpool, there was some discussion of these problems among social workers and teachers in the East End of London, but no action-structure emerged oriented towards them.¹⁵ During the late twenties, however, there was considerable concern in London over another aspect of race relations. Coloured students, artists, and professional men were frequently complaining about discrimination against them in hotels and restaurants, and in their search for lodgings. It was difficult for Negroes to secure training as physicians and nurses. The social colour-bar was strong. In addition to individual protests, one or two Communist-affiliated organisations and the highly nationalistic, but non-Communist West African Students Union were very vocal about these matters. A number of people in missionary circles were greatly concerned, both as a matter of 'Christian principle' and because discrimination in Britain was an embarrassment to missionaries in the field. Out of this ferment of discussion, in the late twenties, an organisation came into being called the Joint Council to

† This section and the three which follow are based to a large extent on an analysis of documents, including official correspondence, to which the author was granted access by officials of the League of Coloured Peoples, the South Wales Association for the Welfare of Coloured Peoples, the Colonial Defence Association, and the Pan African Federation. Grateful acknowledgement to these sources is expressed herewith. The material was supplemented by interviews with persons who had been active in these various associations since their founding. Full documentation is to be found in the author's dissertation previously referred to.

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Promote Understanding Between White and Coloured People in Great Britain.

The founder of the Joint Council was a white Quaker, and the Society of Friends assisted the new group by providing it with office space and in other ways. Prominent religious leaders as well as some high status secular leaders gave it their blessing. The organisation tried to persuade proprietors and employers to relax the colour-bar. Its methods were those of quiet conference and correspondence and occasional public meetings. The Communists immediately attacked the Joint Council for not 'linking the colour-bar question with imperialism' and for not being more militant.¹⁶ Friendly M.P.'s assisted the Joint Council by raising Parliamentary questions. The Joint Council also co-operated with a group which was trying to establish a hostel for Negro students. Among other things it discussed the possibility of 'instituting an inquiry' into conditions affecting coloured people in all of the ports, and of making a 'scientific study of mixed marriages.' The Joint Council was disbanded in 1935. The primary reason given was that another organisation was now doing the same work effectively—the League of Coloured Peoples.

The League of Coloured Peoples was founded in 1931, a few months after the Joint Council was organised, by one of the Joint Council Vice Presidents, a West Indian Negro physician, the late Dr. Harold A. Moody.¹⁷ Similar in objectives and methods to the Joint Council, but with an all-coloured executive, the League began to initiate activity against the colour bar in 1931, and began publication of a journal, *The Keys*, in 1933. It struggled along throughout the thirties on a precarious financial base,¹⁸ and with less than a thousand members. It was influential, nevertheless, due to the high status patrons it was able to obtain, and to the personal relations which its Founder-President had with people in high places—religious and governmental.

From 'The Cardiff Crisis' to The Second World War

While the League of Coloured Peoples was taking root in London the economic and social situation of coloured families in the ports remained serious, but there were no sharp crises. Then, in 1935, 'The Cardiff Crisis' occurred. The N.U.S. had been able to get the government to set a quota on the number of alien coloured seamen who could sail on any British ship. Since all coloured seamen in

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Cardiff had been forced to register as aliens in 1925, an attempt was now made to eliminate as many of them as possible from sailing. After a few sporadic incidents of violent protest the men elected a delegate to go to London to seek aid. Dr. Moody and the League of Coloured Peoples responded immediately and sent an investigating committee to Cardiff to gather data on the true nationality of seamen who were being refused jobs.¹⁹

Through Dr. Moody's personal influence in church and governmental circles, machinery was set in motion for the 'restoration of nationality' to a number of seamen. A branch was established in Cardiff, and for the first time the League hoped to be able to answer the criticism that it did not have roots among the masses, and also to gain more financial support from among coloured people. *The Keys* began a vigorous campaign to acquaint the British public with the plight of the seamen.

The League branch in Cardiff survived for only a few months. The older left-wing Colonial Defence Association seemed to retain the loyalty of the politically-oriented seamen, while the majority began to centre their attention on a newly organised mutual aid and social society, The Sons of Africa. The local Methodist missioner was also active on behalf of the seamen, but preferred to co-operate closely with certain white-controlled organisations in London rather than with the League. Into this situation, two years after the Cardiff Crisis, a young British Quaker school teacher came and formed a new organisation, The South Wales Association for the Welfare of Coloured People, an integrative organisation with membership open to all of the other groups.

The hardworking core of the SWAWCP was composed of members of a Christian pacifist organisation, The Fellowship of Reconciliation, but nearly every important civic and church organisation in Cardiff joined the Association. Its aim was to investigate individual seamen's cases and to try to secure redress, as well as to educate the white community to appreciate the needs of the coloured community with respect to education, housing, health, etc. After a prolonged period of negotiation, the left-wing Colonial Defence Association was admitted to associate membership in the SWAWCP.

In the same year that the SWAWCP was founded, the Liverpool Association for the Welfare of Half-Caste Children changed its name to the Liverpool Association for the Welfare of Coloured People.

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This change was accompanied by a change in structure and programme—and to some extent, in spirit. The new organisation sponsored another piece of research which was published in 1940, *The Economic Status of Coloured Families in the Port of Liverpool*. The study was directed by Professor Caradog Jones and bore his name. It was not only made by an eminent social scientist, but it also repudiated the idea that coloured seamen could, or should, be 'deported.'

Having failed to establish branches in either Cardiff or Liverpool, the League finally decided to organise a United Kingdom Committee for the Welfare of Coloured Children. By 1939, it had secured an impressive list of individual and organisational supporters for a programme designed to secure employment for all British-born coloured children, to see that they were not denied educational opportunity, and to provide improved amenities for them and their parents in areas where coloured people were concentrated. The South Wales Association for the Welfare of Coloured People agreed to co-operate and set about with energy to rally support for these objectives in Cardiff. The League had now secured its broadest base of support since its founding in 1931.

The Impact of the War on the Cardiff and Liverpool Race Relations Situations

In Cardiff, what years of petition and protest had failed to do happened overnight. With full employment, British-born coloured children found jobs. No seaman was now redundant. The half-caste problem was alleviated and the coloured alien seaman problem disappeared. The race relations action-structure did not disappear, however. It assumed new functions and participated in the definition of new problems. The Community Welfare Problem which had always been in the background, became the central one.

A hostel for coloured seamen had been established by the Colonial Office in the early war years. The South Wales Association for the Welfare of Coloured People now began to serve as a vehicle for the expression and control of antagonisms toward this new structural increment. First there was demand for a local advisory committee which was won. There was then a sharp dispute over who should be the warden and, later, the assistant warden. Throughout the war, the SWAWCP also kept a watching brief over 'the moral atmosphere'

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at the Colonial Centre. In the meanwhile a Pacifist Service Unit came into the area and began to organise a play centre in co-operation with the Save the Children Fund. These organisations also began to stress the need for better housing and recreational facilities in the area.

In Liverpool, as in Cardiff, the problems of a previous period were 'solved' by the onset of the war and new ones assumed importance. The West Indian technician problem underwent definition as about 300 technicians settled in Liverpool and vicinity to work. They met some difficulties in finding housing, and faced some discrimination in the places where they worked.²⁰ They formed a branch of the League of Coloured Peoples and Dr. Moody set up a 'British Committee' to advise them. A group of young white people also organised an Anglo-Negro Fellowship to help provide social contacts for these men. The League branch soon found itself in conflict with the London headquarters over what it considered their too aggressive and sometimes undisciplined modes of protest.

In 1942, a group of American Negro soldiers arrived in Liverpool. It was widely felt that the American Army was attempting to impose patterns of segregation upon those British people who wished to treat them as equals. On one occasion some of the coloured soldiers were barred from 'The American Room' at a centre run by the British Council. An English hostess was subsequently dismissed for taking their side. Both the London office of the League and the Anglo-Negro Fellowship co-operated in the lodging of a protest.

The discussion of how to entertain Negro soldiers gradually merged with a discussion about the provision of generally better recreational amenities for coloured people. The Bishop of Liverpool had appointed a committee to discuss these matters and a deep rift occurred within it. The crucial question was, 'Should recreational facilities be established near the centre of coloured settlement so that they could form the nucleus for a permanent institution?' A part of the committee thought this sounded like enforced segregation.²¹

During the latter stages of the War, a controversy over amenities also erupted in Cardiff. On December 9th, 1944, a Cardiff daily announced that 36 houses 'for coloured people' were to be built along with a youth centre for 'children of colonial people.' Earlier that year a newspaper had carried a headline: CENTRE FOR COLOURED YOUTH. Out of the hostility aroused by what was

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interpreted as official social separation, The United Committee of Coloured and Colonial Peoples' Organisations came into being. It launched a vigorous protest and assurances were given that no implications of segregation were intended, and that these amenities and facilities would be open to white as well as coloured people.²²

After the war, a settlement house was founded in the Cardiff dock-side area by a Quaker on the teaching staff of the University College to serve the area of coloured concentration. It played a vital part in community integration. By 1950, a municipal community centre was in operation with local coloured leaders having a large share in policy formation. With no appreciable influx of new coloured population after the war and no unemployment problem, Cardiff has not been considered a 'problem community' during the fifties. After the War, Liverpool began to assume Cardiff's former role as the major 'problem community' in British race relations.

In 1941 and 1942, Dr. Moody and the Bishop of Liverpool had a number of conferences. The Bishop decided to make a strong statement against the colour-bar, to support a move for establishing a community centre, and to assist the League in holding its Annual General Meeting there in 1943. The meeting was the most successful the League had ever had. Eventually a social settlement, Stanley House, was established to cater for the coloured and white people in its immediate neighbourhood.²³ But the stowaway problem complicated race relations in the immediate post-war period, and Liverpool had the bad fortune to become the scene of the one serious 'race riot' after the Second World War. With a high rate of unemployment among seamen it is still an area in which race consciousness within the working class is relatively high.²⁴

The War and the Colour-Bar

The Second World War was fought as a crusade against racism in its Nazi form. The League of Coloured Peoples and other segments of the race relations action-structure insisted throughout the war that if Britain were to be true to its ideals it must eliminate racial discrimination at home and in the colonies. Dr. Moody, with his quite considerable influence in humanitarian and religious circles, was able to secure signatures to several pronouncements and manifestoes opposing the colour-bar, some of which were published in the newspapers. He, himself, was in demand as a speaker.²⁵ The League

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secured a larger measure of financial support from religious circles. The climate of opinion in top governmental circles was also highly favourable to the League's point of view.²⁶

It is very likely, however, that a factor of greater importance than speeches and newspaper comment in creating widespread awareness of race problems was the fact that several thousand American troops were scattered about the British Isles in face-to-face contact with British people. In the earlier stages of the War, an attempt was made on the part of the American authorities to impose a pattern of recreational segregation on some British communities. British values of 'decency' and 'fair play' were violated, and there was a tendency to defend 'the darkies' and 'black Yanks' as opposed to the 'white Yanks'.²⁷ The press, on the whole, gave favourable treatment to news about coloured American soldiers. This enthusiasm for the American coloured troops began to cool a bit towards the end of the War, but thousands of British people had identified positively with coloured people whom they had known or seen or read about. An apperceptive mass was created which could be appealed to in the future as new problems involving coloured people emerged.

Post-War Problems

With the close of the War and the return of American troops to their homeland, various groups in Britain began to express concern over the fate of the illegitimate children of coloured American troops (of whom there were some 2,000). This was the Brown Baby Problem. Stories about these children began to appear in the press, sometimes with their numbers greatly exaggerated. In Liverpool, the African Churches Mission and the Negro Welfare Centres (both coloured institutions) began to formulate plans for raising money to send some of these children to America and to build a Booker T. Washington Children's Home in Britain for others. By 1947, however, responsible British institutions were co-operating with the League of Coloured Peoples in a programme of trying to arrange for some of the children to join their fathers in America, and for others to be placed for adoption or foster care with British families. A policy decision had been made by the Home Office that overseas adoptions were not permissible.²⁸

By 1950, the Brown Baby Problem had receded into the background and the Stowaway Problem and the Coloured Student

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Problem³⁰ were at the centre of attention so far as the race relations action-structure was concerned. The number of coloured students had risen from about 150 in 1940 to over 6,000 in 1950. About 1,300 stowaways, mainly from West Africa, had entered the country between 1946 and 1950. Voluntary associations forming a part of the race relations action-structure became involved in extensive discussion of these problems, thus extending the circle of awareness. There was considerable discussion in the press, and in some popular magazines.³¹ In the meanwhile, determination of general policy had already taken place in top governmental circles, *viz.*, that stowaways were not to be deported, and students were not only to be welcomed, but were to be actively assisted in making a satisfactory adjustment. From certain trade union quarters, however, there was persistent pressure for positive action to shut off the trickle of stowaways. By 1954, measures had been taken which curbed the entrance of stowaways but did not violate the basic British values which sustain the right of colonials to migrate to the United Kingdom.³²

During 1952, the Stowaway Problem diminished in importance, and the Jamaican Immigrant Problem took its place. Coloured people from that island were beginning to arrive in some numbers. They were *bona fide* travellers who had paid their fares and were coming to seek employment.³³ The problem centred around their integration into the commercial and industrial structures, the securing of housing accommodations, and adjustment to the subtle, but nevertheless real, colour-bar in various aspects of British life. During 1955, the stream of Jamaican immigrants was still continuing and there was some discussion of plans for importing Barbadians to work in personal and domestic service. As a part of the process of problem definition, an American sociologist came to Britain under joint Jamaican and British Governmental auspices to supervise a study of the Jamaican immigrant's problems.

Consideration of the problems of coloured students and of West Indian migrants now takes place in an atmosphere of public opinion far different from that which existed when colour-problem definitions began after the First World War. The colour-bar problem increasingly becomes the centre of discussion. But the most important difference between this period and that between the two World Wars is that there is active intervention by the national government. Mention has been made of the fact that hostels for coloured seamen

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were set up during the war under Colonial Office auspices, and that the Ministry of Labour was concerned with the adjustment of coloured technicians. When the stowaway problem was undergoing definition these same agencies were involved. An Advisory Committee to the Colonial Secretary was set up in the post-war years composed of representatives of voluntary welfare associations, the Colonial Office and the National Assistance Board. An Interdepartmental Committee on Colonial People in the United Kingdom was established in 1947, empowered to 'review the general overall position of the non-student colonial in the United Kingdom.' These committees have become an integral part of the race relations action-structure, along with segments of the regular governmental machinery which have incorporated race relations activity into their roles of office.

The emergence of a governmental segment of the British race relations action-structure during and after the Second World War, has meant, to some extent, the 'bureaucratisation of *charisma*'.³³ But the most important result of the presence of these new structural increments is the fact that now, in the local situation, the process of problem-definition has been 'short-circuited.' This is particularly true in some of the newer race relations situations. Hull, for instance, is a case in point.

Somewhat smaller in population than Cardiff, Hull was singled out by Kenneth Little as sociologically significant in the early forties because the small coloured population there had not been defined as a problem.³⁴ By 1950, there were about 500 coloured people in Hull as compared with Cardiff's 5,000. Both in numbers and in the reaction of the white public, the Hull situation in the fifties was beginning to resemble that of Cardiff and Liverpool in the early twenties. The unemployment register was large. Shipping companies were reluctant to antagonise the National Union of Seamen by signing on coloured men. Additional coloured people were drifting in, this time as stowaways.

Church circles were becoming disturbed over the prospect of possible violence which might disturb the peace, and over the moral problem. It was reported that sentiment was arising in some quarters favourable to deportation of these coloured men, 'many of whom' it is alleged, 'were living on the earnings of white women.' One responsible citizen complained that 'the Colonial Office will not act.'

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But while the circle of awareness was widening in Hull, the Colonial Office *was* acting. Policy determination had taken place in London, not in Hull. The Ministry of Labour and the Colonial Office were systematically trying to secure jobs for unemployed coloured people in the neighbouring city of Leeds, thus relieving the 'pressure' on Hull.³⁵ The coloured student problem was undergoing definition at the same time, but was running the more orthodox course. Eighteen voluntary associations within the city of Hull were holding a watching brief over coloured students, with the Bishop of Hull at their head.

Birmingham represents another 'new' situation.³⁶ Both before and during, the Second World War, there were a few coloured professional men practising in the city. One of them had been president of the city-wide association in his profession. Both Africans and West Indians were in this small group. Soon after the War, Indians, West Indians and some Africans began to trickle into the city seeking work. Then, branches of national government agencies began 'steering' some of the Liverpool stowaways toward the industrial areas around Birmingham. The attitudes among coloured professional men were similar to those observed in other communities—anxiety over their own status as a lower middle class and lower class coloured population settled in the city. Some of the professional men attempted to give advice and to assist the newcomers through a civic organisation composed of coloured and white. In 1948, they found themselves competing with a newly organised association which arose at a lower status level.

During 1952, the Area Officer of the Colonial Office Welfare Department was actively assisting in the adjustment of coloured immigrants. Then, a decision was made to discontinue this service. The decision came at a point when unemployment seemed imminent in the area. In the meanwhile the Archdeacon of Birmingham, was the head of a local Co-ordination Committee. This committee had suggested during 1955 that a local municipal officer be appointed to carry out the work formerly done by the Colonial Office official.

Conclusions

The existence of governmental agencies concerned with race relations *at the beginning* of the definition of a 'race problem,' as in Hull and Birmingham, suggests a re-examination of the natural

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history stage formulation. A three-stage concept seems most useful in these cases if used as an ideal type construct. One can then raise questions as to why the problem does *not* pass through these stages, or why some stages may be more prolonged than others. *It might be more rewarding, even, to use 'awareness,' 'policy determination,' and 'policy implementation' (reform), as analytical categories—aspects of a situation—rather than as stages in a temporal sequence.* It is then possible to pose problems such as 'Which segments of the race relations action-structure, at a given time, are concentrating on one or more aspects of action?' or 'How does a given segment apportion its time and energy between the three aspects?'"

Finally, the attempt to apply the Fuller-Frank-Waller frame of reference to a study of the British race relations situations suggests certain refinements of the concept 'social problems.' Without abandoning the essence of the concept, *viz.*, that a social condition becomes a social problem only when it is defined as such, the question might be raised as to whether the concept should not take account of several different kinds of problem-definitions, as, for example,

- (a) definitions involving popular concern among large masses of people arising from mass experience, such as widespread unemployment, serious shortages of housing, or the high cost of living. None of the race relations problems, viewed from the perspective of the white majority, was of that type.
- (b) definitions involving widespread popular concern which has been stimulated by the media of mass communication, such as crusades against crime or juvenile delinquency, or the financial problems of social work agencies. Current on-going definitions of the Colour-Bar Problem are of this type.
- (c) definitions involving economic interest groups within the larger society which feel threatened and are trying to exert pressure and to influence public opinion. The Coloured Alien Seaman Problem is a case in point.
- (d) definitions which do not involve economic interest groups, but which arise among small groups interested in humanitarian causes, such as the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. The Half-Caste Problem, the Brown Baby Problem, and the Colour-Bar Problem, in their earlier stages, were of this type. Insofar as the initiating groups are able to secure wide and sustained press coverage, definitions which begin in this

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- fashion may shift over to become definitions of type (b).
- (e) definitions involving the activities of élite groups and administrative functionaries who, from some strategic position in the social structure, are able to conceptualize a social problem, and to use all of their influence deliberately to create awareness at the same time that policy formulation and implementation are proceeding.

The last mentioned type of problem definition has particular relevance to the British race relations situation, and it is likely that it will become the dominant type of problem definition in both the British and American race relations situations.³⁸ In the case of both the Jamaican Immigrant Problem and the Coloured Student Problem, policy decision and implementation have taken place at top governmental levels at a very early stage, and governmental agencies themselves participate in creating wide circles of awareness. Through fact-finding surveys and the dissemination of relevant information to the press and voluntary associations, as well as through planning for the reception and adjustment of the newcomers, government helps to create a climate of opinion favourable to the new coloured population increments.

All the discrete problems centred around race relations are increasingly seen in relation to a key problem, the Colour-Bar Problem. With the realization that the population of the Empire and Commonwealth is predominantly coloured, and that some parts of the structure are pressing for increased self-government and are open to potential Soviet pressure; and with liberal-humanitarian activity as a constant within the United Kingdom itself, policy makers of all political parties are led to repudiate the colour-bar openly.³⁹ The activities of smaller associational groupings which have traditionally taken this position are thus reinforced. Mass media raise the discussion of the colour-bar on a popular level. A British public which knows that the colour-bar exists in various parts of the world, but which may not know how prevalent it is in Britain, and which may not see its significance in terms of Commonwealth and Empire relations, is increasingly finding itself being made aware by Parliamentary speeches and debates, by B.B.C. broadcasts, by news items and feature stories, and by the actual presence of coloured workers. Policy implementation, itself, thus extends the boundaries of awareness and makes anti-colour-bar policy determination progressively more acceptable.

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The activity of British social scientists who are speaking and writing about race relations seems to function primarily to lend scientific support to anti-colour-bar evaluations.⁴⁰ Value-premises are always made explicit, however, and the scholars are interested in race relations as a *scientific* problem as well as a *social* problem. The empirical data on British race relations is being used by them to test and refine existing theoretical formulations.

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¹ This particular conception of a 'social problem' is part of a theoretical scheme sometimes referred to by American sociologists as the Fuller-Frank-Waller approach to social problems. From this point of view, a social problem is further thought of as always involving a conflict between values held by various groups within a society, or within a single group. See Richard C. Fuller: 'The Problems of Teaching Social Problems,' *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. XLIV, 1938, pp. 415-20; Richard C. Fuller and Richard R. Myers: 'Some Aspects of a Theory of Social Problems,' *American Sociological Review*, January, 1941, pp. 24-32; and John F. Cuber and Robert A. Harper: *Problems of American Society: Values in Conflict*, New York, 1948, p. xiv.

² The concept of 'action-structure' has been used in the author's unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, *Value Systems, Social Structure and Race Relations in the British Isles*, (University of Chicago, June, 1954). This concept was developed within Radcliffe Brown's general theoretical framework as modified by W. O. Lloyd Warner. The thesis (and this article is based upon portions of it) owes much also to the thinking of E. E. Evans-Pritchard and Max Gluckman, Talcott Parsons and Robert K. Merton.

³ Richard C. Fuller and Richard R. Myers: 'The Natural History of a Social Problem,' *American Sociological Review*, June, 1941, pp. 320-329.

⁴ 'Reform,' as generally used, is a normative term and implies 'change for the better' as Christian-humanitarians would define 'better.' However, a social problem might quite as well find itself settled some other way after a period of policy determination. In this article we shall use the term 'policy implementation' instead of 'reform.' It was in this sense that Fuller and Myers used the word 'reform.' Their choice of term was unfortunate.

⁵ The term 'race relations situation' has been used in the dissertation referred to above, to apply to any locality in which people of different ethnic groups are in contact and think of the real or assumed 'racial' differences between them as having some biological or social importance.

⁶ The coloured population of the United Kingdom has been estimated at about 100,000 persons out of a total population of some 50,000,000. For an analysis of why the coloured population has been defined as a 'social problem,' see especially, Kenneth L. Little: *Negroes in Britain*, Kegan Paul, London, 1948, Ch. 8 and A. H. Richmond: 'Economic Insecurity and Stereotypes as Factors in Colour Prejudice.' *The Sociological Review*, vol. 42, No. 8, 1950.

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⁷ 'Colour-bar,' is an expression which is used in Britain to cover what Richmond refers to as *discrimination* and some types of *social separation*, when based upon differences in skin colour. A. H. Richmond: *The Colour Problem*, Pelican Books, Middlesex, 1955, p. 18.

⁸ Richmond (*op. cit.*, pp. 235-36.) emphasizes the factor of fear of economic competition. Little, on the other hand (*op. cit.*, pp. 58-9) mentions the generally disturbed atmosphere in a period of post-war 'let-down' and suggests that a great deal of free-floating aggression was discharged against people who were highly visible and stereotyped in the popular mind. There is evidence from these riots, as well as from the Liverpool Riot of 1948, and disturbances in Birmingham, Manchester and London between 1945 and 1950, to indicate that latent hostility over the association of coloured men with white women also found expression.

⁹ One student of race relations emphasizes the fact that the fear of the white seamen was 'real and not imaginary,' given the shipper's interest in cutting costs by using cheap colonial labour. (A. H. Richmond: *The Colour Problem*, *op. cit.*, p. 235.)

¹⁰ Responsible citizens in the ports were primarily interested in 'civic peace' as a value. The very presence of coloured seamen offered a temptation to the riotous attack on them.

¹¹ See Kenneth Little: *op. cit.*, pp. 63-67, for a thorough discussion and analysis of the activity leading toward the passage of the 1925 legislation and of the Order itself.

¹² See Muriel E. Fletcher: *Report on an Investigation Into the Colour Problem in Liverpool and Other Ports*, Liverpool: Liverpool Association for the Welfare of Half-Caste Children, 1930. The quotations in this paragraph and the one which follows are from this report.

¹³ It has been noted that 'The Liverpool Association collaborated with the Juvenile Employment Bureau in the collection of statistics regarding unemployment among coloured boys and girls, and before the war, special efforts were made to place them in suitable employment. Experimental training schemes for girls in handicrafts and domestic work were started; and boys were trained in cookery with a view to employment in ships' galleys. Neither scheme appears to have been particularly successful.' (A. H. Richmond: *The Colour Problem*, *op. cit.*, p. 287).

¹⁴ In Cardiff, the Cardiff Special Watch Committee on January 1st, 1929, recommended that His Majesty's Government should enact special legislation to deal with 'alien' seamen. Here, however, as in Liverpool, there was a tendency to take a more sentimental attitude toward the children. An industrial survey revealed that employers were reluctant to hire coloured girls on the grounds that white girls would not work beside them. The Cardiff Juvenile Employment Committee in July of 1929, said, 'It is a very sad commentary on the Christian spirit shown and indicates that the Colour Bar is still very strong in this country.' (References to the statements of the special committees are from Little: *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70).

¹⁵ For a description of typical cases of discrimination during this period see David A. Vaughan: *Negro Victory*, London: Independent Press, 1950, pp. 47-49; 54-55. One index to the degree of interest is the fact that when the Missionary Council established a Sub-Committee on Africans in England in 1931, 18 organisations were listed as devoting some or all of their time to assisting Negroes in Britain. Among the most important of these were the Society for the Welfare of Africans in England, the Antislavery and Aborigines Protection Society, The West Indian Committee, and the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society.

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¹⁶ See, for example, *Negro Worker*, January, 1932, pp. 2, 3, 17 and August—Sept., 1933, p. 17. The former article jeered at the Joint Council, calling it 'The Joint Council for Promoting Jim Crowism Between the Races,' because it was supporting the establishment of Aggrey House, a hostel for African students.

¹⁷ For a sympathetic biography of Dr. Moody written by his former pastor see the volume by David A. Vaughan referred to above (15).

¹⁸ A 'Pan African' segment was added to the London race relations action-structure in 1936 when a very small group of Negro radicals, including George Padmore, Jomo Kenyatta and T. Ras Makonnen organised the International African Service Bureau. They assailed the Communists on one hand and criticized the League moderates on the other. They published a short-lived journal, *International African Opinion*, and then, some time later, organised the Pan African Federation. (See George Padmore (ed.): *History of the Pan African Congress*, Manchester, 1946.)

¹⁹ See K. L. Little: *Negroes in Britain*, op. cit., pp. 71-85, for a thorough and well-documented analysis of the Cardiff Crisis. That the crisis came at this particular time was due to the passage of the British Shipping Assistance Act in 1935 which set the quota.

²⁰ The definitive study of this problem is A. H. Richmond's *Colour and Prejudice in Britain: A Study of West Indian Workers in Liverpool*, 1941-51, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1954.

²¹ Richmond discusses some aspects of this controversy in his *Colour Prejudice in Britain*, op. cit., pp. 91-93.

²² In 1945, the Pan African Federation of Manchester sponsored the organisation of a Tyneside Interracial League which lodged protests against what it characterized as discrimination against coloured café owners and in access to housing facilities. See Mary Winters and J. J. Hatch: 'Colour Persecution on Tyneside,' *Pan Africa*, Manchester, February, 1947. Background information on coloured residents in the Tyneside area may be found in Sydney F. Collins: 'The Social Position of White and Half-Caste Women in Coloured Groupings in Britain,' *American Sociological Review*, volume 16, December, 1951.

²³ Dr. Moody and his supporters gave a great deal of thought during the War to the possibility of setting up community centres in both Cardiff and Liverpool after the War.

²⁴ See A. H. Richmond: *The Colour Problem*, op. cit., pp. 257, 260, for a statement of conditions in Cardiff and Liverpool in 1952 and 1953. During the prolonged strikes of the spring of 1955, rumours were circulating in Liverpool to the effect that coloured men would break the strikes.

²⁵ Some of these speeches were printed in pamphlet form, as for example, Harold A. Moody: *Christianity and Race Relations*, which was published by the Fellowship of Reconciliation in 1943.

²⁶ See K. L. Little: 'The Official Standpoint,' *Negroes in Britain*, pp. 223-224.

²⁷ See letter from Kenneth Little: 'Coloured Troops in Britain' in correspondence column of the *New Statesman and Nation*, August 29th, 1942.

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²⁸ The League instituted an inquiry which was published in 1946 as Sylvia McNeill: *Illegitimate Children Born in Britain of English Mothers and Coloured Americans*. Recommendations were made therein for dealing with the problem.

²⁹ See Richmond: *The Colour Problem*, op. cit., pp. 269-272 for a discussion of the problems of coloured students in Britain.

³⁰ Discussion of the Stowaway Problem, as well as of the Coloured Student Problem and related issues seemed to have reached a peak in the Spring of 1951. Early in February of that year, the London Young Friends held a conference at Toynbee Hall on the theme 'The Problems of Coloured People Throughout the World and Especially in London.' A report on this conference appeared in the March 2nd issue of *The Friend* under the title, 'Coloured People in London.' Early in April, the British Council of Churches held a conference in Liverpool on race relations and it was widely reported in the press. During the same month, for a period of several weeks, the *Manchester Guardian* carried on a discussion through articles and correspondence of the colour-bar in general and the Stowaway Problem in particular. At the same time, discussion was proceeding in Parliament and suggestions were made that legislation against the colour-bar be passed. (See *Parliamentary Debates* (Lords) CLXXVI, April 11th, 1951, 239, and *Parliamentary Debates* (Commons), CDXCI, July 26th, 1951, 631, 666.

³¹ See A. H. Richmond: *The Colour Problem*, op. cit., p. 232.

³² About 20,000 West Indians were living in Britain in 1954, and by that year, '... the number of colonial immigrants, the majority Jamaicans, had reached a figure of 10,000 per annum, but against this must be set the number returning to the colony of origin.' (Richmond: *The Colour Problem*, op. cit., pp. 231-232).

³³ In Britain, as in America, concern over race relations tended to begin among Christian sects and the race relations 'experts' were apt to be ministers, priests, and lay people in Christian-humanitarian circles who, besides left-wing pressure groups, espoused the cause of coloured people. In both situations, race relations functionaries are beginning to appear, for whom race relations activity is a part of their job. One of the first such functionaries was appointed in 1941 to deal with West Indian technicians. He had been a militant member of the League of Coloured Peoples. After he assumed the rôle of an official he found himself, from time to time, asking the League of Coloured Peoples to restrain some of the over-enthusiastic members of the Liverpool branch.

³⁴ Kenneth Little; *op. cit.*, p. 244.

³⁵ This account of the Hull situation is based on C.O. Document /20188/ 50. CPUK(50) 26, 'Coloured Population in Hull.' (A copy of the document was released to *Ebony Magazine*, Chicago, U.S.A., and permission to use it is acknowledged herewith.)

³⁶ The discussion of Birmingham is based on the author's field notes (1947 and 1948) and on data from Richmond: *The Colour Problem*, op. cit., pp. 266-268.

³⁷ Fuller and Myers mentioned the possibilities of this alternative use of their categories, but did not discuss the point in detail. Among the other race relations situations in Britain which might be fruitfully examined in this fashion are Manchester which resembles Birmingham in that a small middle-class coloured population preceded the post-war working class group and

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Stepney and Canning Town which are similar in some respects to the Cardiff and Liverpool situations, but whose coloured populations have been referred to as 'smaller and less well established.' (See Richmond: *The Colour Problem*, *op. cit.*, pp. 262-263; 265-266; M. P. Banton: 'Negro Workers in Britain,' *The Twentieth Century*, volume 151, No. 899, January, 1952; and the same author's recent book: *Coloured Quarter*, published by Jonathan Cape, 1955.) New clusters of Jamaican immigrants, as well as settlements of Barbadians who may be arriving to enter the catering industry might also be examined in this fashion.

³⁸ Social research on race relations began in the late Thirties under the sponsorship of voluntary associations (Fletcher Report and Sharpe Report); during the late Thirties, Kenneth Little began his studies which posed scientific as well as social problems. His *Negroes in Britain* in 1948 was the first book-length study of race relations in Britain. Dr. Little's students as well as other scholars have continued to publish. Government sponsored surveys were the final development in the process of problem definition as it relates to social research.

³⁹ See Richmond: *The Colour Problem*, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-13 and 293-298 for a discussion of the interplay of these factors in creating opposition to the colour-bar. See also St. Clair Drake: 'The International Implications of Race and Race Relations,' *Journal of Negro Education*, Summer Year-book Edition, 1951, and St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton: *Black Metropolis*, New York, 1945, p. 97, and pp. 766-767.

⁴⁰ Cf. the remarks on the role of the social sciences in research on race relations in the United States in Gunnar Myrdal: *An American Dilemma*, New York, 1944, pp. 89-93; 1023-1024. See also, 'A Methodological Note on Valuations and Beliefs' and 'A Methodological Note on Facts and Valuations in Social Science,' *ibid.*, pp. 1027-1064.



DEDUCTIVE THEORIES IN SOCIOLOGY *

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My message in this paper might be looked at as a piece of cultural diffusion. My own training is in experimental psychology with some empiricist philosophy and natural science. It is hardly surprising therefore that the methodology of the social sciences, which I am recommending, should be that which is orthodox in the natural sciences and psychology, and expounded by philosophers of science. Nevertheless it is my experience that this drab and respectable point of view is not accepted by many sociologists, and that those who call themselves social scientists—employing the terminology and expecting the fruits of scientific procedure—regard the implications of this method as bizarre and unacceptable. If, therefore, what I have to say seems preposterous I suggest that this may be due to a current conflict of disciplines.

It has been said that sociology should not copy physics and chemistry : as a social psychologist I have observed with interest how the area conquered by the methods of the natural sciences has been extended through experimental psychology into the psychology of small social groups. It is, I hope, not too far-fetched to suggest that sociology will be conquered next. But, you may ask, why should we want to be scientific in this sense ? The general answer to this question is to examine what the scientific approach entails. It means, to begin with, the establishment of a number of valid generalisations, so that particular events in the future can be predicted with certainty, and so that administrators can bring about desirable states of affairs. Secondly, the scientific approach entails the systematic explanation of such generalisations in a way that enables quite new generalisations to be predicted, and known ones to be co-ordinated.

What I propose to do is to examine what is meant by an empirical law or generalisation in sociology, and to distinguish these from

* Paper read at a meeting of the British Sociological Association on February 18th, 1955.

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other kinds of findings. I shall then recall the elements of the hypothetic-deductive method, and discuss how this may be used to explain sociological laws. Finally, some examples of deductive theories will be discussed from the spheres of small social groups and sociology proper : the theories to be referred to are stated formally in an abbreviated form later. In conclusion, I shall try to show that Durkheim's arguments against 'psychologism' no longer hold water in the context of present-day psychology.

To begin with, let us consider the status of empirical laws or generalisations in sociology. While generalisations are important in a science, they are not the whole of it. Sheer brute facts are often interesting: astronomers investigate the distances of stars and nebulæ, meteorologists ascertain the average temperature and humidity for different regions and seasons. In a similar manner sociologists, particularly in this country, have carried out Social Surveys of a fact-finding nature, and anthropologists have described the kinship structure and religious ceremonies of particular tribes. However, the great advances and discoveries of the older sciences would have been impossible if it were only such matters of fact—no matter how many or how carefully observed—that were known. The central body of any science consists of the relations between these facts, usually expressed as functional relations between two or more empirical variables. When these are known it is possible to predict and control the future. It is for this reason that Newton's law of gravitation (though now supplanted) and the laws for gases, are of greater importance than the periods of orbit for particular planets, or the pressures of particular volumes of gas at particular temperatures.

What kind of generalisations have been found, or could be found, in sociology? This is no place to attempt a systematic classification but a few instances will be given by way of example. Firstly, there could be causal laws showing the effects of technological discovery, or of individual personalities, on cultural change. Secondly, there are correlations between two or more aspects of different societies—of the kind earlier discovered by Hobhouse, Ginsberg and Wheeler,¹ and more recently by Murdock² and others using the Yale cross-cultural index. Thirdly, there are those correlations, presumably causal, between geography and climate, and the nature of society. Lastly, there are the relations between social organisation and such

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variables as job satisfaction and the various indices of efficiency studied by industrial sociologists. No doubt there are more that I have not mentioned, but this is simply to elaborate what I mean by sociological generalisations. It will be noticed that while some of these generalisations are of the form A causes B, others are of the form A varies with B: in the latter case while there is presumably *some* causal connection involved, it is not clear what this is or what is its direction.

From this point we naturally pass to the question of how such generalisations can be established, for the objection is sometimes made that the subject-matter of sociology is too complex for this sort of treatment. Every branch of science possesses its own special difficulties—some require enormously complex apparatus, others involve travel to the bottom of the sea or the North Pole. The particular difficulties of sociology are perhaps the large numbers of inevitably uncontrolled variables, the difficulties of measuring human behaviour, and the disturbing influence of the investigator. Fifty years ago many psychological pundits also shook their heads at the idea of scientific methods and fell back on the hunches and intuitions of novelists, and other observers of the human scene. However suggestive and profound such intuitions and casual observations may be they have two great defects: firstly, the hunches of different people are different, often contradictory, and secondly, there is no way within the pre-scientific method of finding out which hunch is right. Today the psychological scene is very different, and the several thousands of careful experiments which have now been published³ define fairly clearly the laws governing learning, perception, and the rest. In so far as there is uncertainty on any particular point, the appropriate procedure for deciding it is at hand.

The position in sociology today is rather different: although the methods of research are well developed, as yet no substantial body of empirical laws has been obtained by their use. There are one or two remarks I would like to make about these research techniques, though no doubt they are thoroughly familiar through the various excellent texts on the subject.⁴ In the first place, in view of the uncontrolled variables that always interfere with sociological investigations, it is quite imperative to use statistical methods to discover greater-than-chance effects over a number of instances. It is not possible to establish social laws from one instance, and the study of

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single cases—one of the commonest kinds of social research—can provide no results of any scientific value whatever, though it may of course be suggestive. In the second place the difficulty of experimentation does not imply the impossibility of establishing generalisations. Statistical field studies like those of Katz at Michigan⁵ and those in which we are now engaged at Oxford on social factors in industrial productivity, establish functional though not causal relations: under certain conditions these may be interpreted causally. In addition to this there are the ingenious *ex post facto* designs of Chapin⁶ whereby the causal influence of particular events may be traced.

There is not space to discuss the disturbing effect of the investigator or the difficulties of obtaining valid and reliable measuring instruments. However, because research methods are imperfect it is not the logical corollary to abandon all attempts at scientific rigour: in fact these methods are being developed all the time, and already constitute a powerful battery of research weapons.

Some sociologists do not regard the discovery of empirical laws as of much importance, as compared with the development of a conceptual system. This, I take it, is the view of Talcott Parsons⁷ for example. The more empirically-minded members of this school are interested in empirical generalisations as a means of improving upon the variables in use—Parsons himself scarcely seems to be concerned with empirical data at all. This is to reverse the usual view of the temporal order of concept-formation and the discovery of laws. Usually the first stage is to find the important dimensions along which events vary, the second to look for causal relations between these variables. It is true that one criterion of an important dimension is its causal significance, but this is only part of the story. Where I would differ from Parsons primarily is in his *a priori* method of developing dimensions and the categories which divide them. This should be an empirical matter, and the researches into the dimension of social class by various sociologists, and into the dimensions of personality by Professor Eysenck⁸ are the kind of procedure I have in mind. There are important criteria for the development of such dimensional variables—in particular their consistent discriminability and their internal coherence. These considerations are overlooked by *a priori* theorists—perhaps their dimensions do not represent stable empirical variables, perhaps the

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categories are not discriminable, perhaps important divisions are overlooked. The derivation of empirical variables or concepts is an important preliminary to the discovery of laws, and is neither a final end nor a species of social theory.

I have spent some time on the subject of laws in sociology because no genuine theory is possible until there are some generalisations to be explained, and because many writers in the past have confused generalisations with theories. The so-called theories of Freud—to take a psychological example—are in fact a set of vague and weakly confirmed empirical generalisations, and the same is true of many of the classical sociological theories. To take a modern instance, Homans in his book *The Human Group*⁹ presents a series of empirical hypotheses as if they constituted a theory and does not seem to appreciate the distinction commonly drawn by psychologists and other scientists between laws and their explanation. I suggest the following terminology. A law is said to be explained whenever considerations are brought forward which make it seem less surprising—that is, makes it more comprehensible to us. Needless to say such a wide sense of explanation covers a multitude of processes—including explanation by reference to conscious processes and various kinds of clinical and functional interpretation. The need for cognitive satisfaction varies between different people, some being content with generalisations, others with some kind of explanation depending on their intellectual background. Piaget¹⁰ has shown how children of different ages are satisfied by quite different explanations of why the sun rises and so on. I am not concerned here with the satisfaction of curiosity but with the systematic functions a theory may perform. The axiomatic, or hypothetico-deductive, type of theory which is familiar in the established sciences, and which I am about to recommend, does things that the other explanations cannot do. In particular it is able to coordinate a number of diverse generalisations into a single coherent body of knowledge, and it is a source of further predictions, which may be used as a guide for future research. On the question of coordination it is of course true that generalisations can be combined mathematically, as in the case of the laws of gases and Clark Hull's¹¹ use of the 'intervening variable' technique in psychology. In neither of these cases however are the laws coordinated in the sense of being shown to follow from a set of common postulates. The aim of reducing all the results of a

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science to a single elaborate empirical law is laudable but impossible to fulfil; on the other hand integration of the kind suggested here is perfectly possible. On the question of further predictions it must be allowed that while this is a valuable way of testing theories there are often more practical considerations in the planning of research. In a subject like sociology it is not likely that researchers will be hard-up for research topics, while the sponsors of projects are liable to have more practical matters in mind than the testing of theories. On the other hand such theoretical considerations may suggest what is worth studying out of a range of possible topics and may thus point the way towards important discoveries.

How does a deductive theory explain generalisations? In brief, a number of axioms or postulates are put forward from which the laws to be explained can be deduced, together with further predictions as yet untested. It is through the testing of these predictions that a theory is verified—the investigation of contradictory predictions from different theories being of particular interest. There are several kinds of deductive theory, depending on the logical status of the postulates. In the *reductive* kind of deductive theory the postulates are themselves laws in another branch of science. Some of the sciences are hierarchically arranged, so that for example psychological findings may sometimes be explained by means of physiological laws, these in turn being reduced to biochemistry, and so on. While this involves a regress of explanations there is a tacit division of labour. In another kind of deductive theory, the postulates are laws in another science which have not yet been verified, in other words they are speculative and somewhat imaginary. There are a number of such speculative theories in psychology which conjure up all manner of neuro-physiological apparatus which may or may not resemble what is really there. Such a theory may be tested via its predictions, and in addition the postulates themselves may be investigated. Should the postulates be confirmed, the theory becomes, of course, a reductive theory. There are two other kinds of deductive theory which may be distinguished—where the theory is presented as a machine sharing only formal properties with the system to be explained, and where the theory consists of a set of abstract postulates.

The abstract type of theory is the one described in the logic books: formal axioms are stated between elements defined only implicitly—

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theorems are deduced from the axioms—the elements are then given co-ordinating definitions interpreting them as physical variables—the theorems then become transformed into empirical generalisations. When a theory is presented as a mechanical or other model, the axioms are interpreted in terms of the basic principles of the model, and the consequent behaviour follows in accordance with familiar physical principles. The speculative theory is similar save that the model is now of a type that may in fact be operating. It seems likely that a theory can be expressed as a model, as a formal system or speculatively, and retain the same logical structure and range of empirical prediction. Examples of all these types of theory can be found in psychology and elsewhere. All three types are distinguished from the reductive theory by the unverified character of the postulates. I shall henceforth refer to them as *axiomatic* theories, as opposed to *reductive* theories. Obviously reductive theories are impossible unless the next science in the hierarchy is highly developed: for instance, the physiology of the central nervous system is not yet sufficiently well understood for there to be many reductive theories of psychological laws. On the other hand enough is known for sensible speculative theories to be put forward, and this means that use can be made of the suggestiveness of lower-level data.

What are the prospects for deductive theories in sociology? Sociology is the study of groups and organisations of people, so that the obvious next step in the hierarchy is the study of individual people, i.e. psychology. Furthermore since quite a lot is known about the behaviour of individuals, it is reasonable to suggest that the possibility of both reductive and speculative theories, using psychological data, might be explored. There is of course no reason at all why mechanical or formal axiomatic theories should not also be pursued, but if these are translatable into speculative theories they have no advantages, whereas they are more remote from a final reductive theory, and are often more difficult to understand. One objection which has been made to such 'reduction to psychology,' is that groups and organisations in some sense 'contain more' than individuals and their behaviour. Groups, it is said, have customs and structures which seem to be over and above the behaviour of individuals. However these customs and structures are simply composed of the co-ordinated behaviour of individuals; furthermore the interactions whereby they are formed and maintained are well

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understood, at any rate for small social groups. If groups do by any chance contain some mystical residue outside the scope of individual psychology, it would be found that the kind of explanation I am advocating would not prove to be possible for these aspects of group behaviour. In other words it is a self-correcting, empirical question whether or not the approach will succeed, and so nothing is lost by trying it.

It should be made clear that what is being suggested would not undermine the autonomy or validity of sociology in any way: it would simply provide a supplementary technique of explanation.

Let us now examine a few examples of deductive theories in sociology. To begin with there are two theories from the field of small social groups. In the published work on small groups may be found several hundred carefully designed experiments and correlational studies which support between them a considerable body of generalisations, some of them well established over a variety of conditions. There is sufficient material here for theory-construction to be profitable.

The first theory is due to Morton Deutsch¹² of the University of Michigan, and started as a theory of co-operation and competition, with no data to be explained. He then carried out an experiment¹³ to test his deductions, and other relevant investigations have been reported subsequently. The summary which follows does some violence to Deutsch's original formulation, in that all the propositions are stated behaviourally, while the originals were in terms of a perceptual terminology due to Lewin's influence. It is interesting to find that this translation can be effected without loss, and that the deductions follow in the same way as before. The theory is set out below. After each of the derived postulates is stated in brackets the propositions from which the postulate is deduced together with the names of any investigators who have confirmed it.

Basic Definition. A co-operative group is one in which the needs of the members would be satisfied by attainment of some joint goal; a competitive group is one in which the goals of the members are mutually exclusive, so that if the needs of one member are satisfied, those of the other members will not be.

Postulate I. In a co-operative group, if member A carries out an act there is no need for B to do it, since this action has promoted the goals of each. This does not apply to competitive groups. (Basic Definition: H. B. Lewis).

Derivation A. (A number of deductions are made from Postulate I, none of which has yet been verified).

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Postulate II. In a co-operative group, A's action will tend to satisfy B's needs, therefore B will approve of A's behaviour. The opposite applied to competitive groups. (Basic Definition).

Derivation B. Co-operative groups are more friendly. (Postulate II: Deutsch).

Postulate III. In a co-operative group A is more open to suggestions from B. (Postulate II: Deutsch, Marquis, Grossack).

Postulate IV. In a co-operative group, A will help B since this will tend to promote the satisfaction of A's own needs. In a competitive group, A is likely to obstruct B for complementary reasons. (Basic Definition).

Derivation C. In a competitive group, members will pay less attention to one another, have communication difficulties, and not have a shared orientation to the group task. (Postulate IV: Deutsch).

Derivation D. The quality of output in co-operative groups is superior. (Derivation C: Deutsch, Marquis, Guetzkow).

Derivation E. Members of co-operative groups learn more from one another. (Postulate III, Derivation C: Deutsch).

The theory starts with a basic definition of co-operative groups as those in which the needs of the members would be satisfied by attainment of some joint goal, while competitive groups are those where the goals of individuals are mutually exclusive. It is then postulated for co-operative groups, firstly that members will not repeat one another's actions, secondly, that members will approve of each other's behaviour, thirdly, that members are more open to suggestions from others, and fourthly, that members will help one another more.

The postulates are largely unverified (with the partial exception of the first) and so this is a speculative theory. With the exception of the third, the postulates follow from the basic definition, so that in a sense there are two ultimate axioms, though Deutsch presents the postulates as you see them here. Most of the derivations are from single postulates, so that the structure of the theory is very simple. A number of predictions made from the theory have been successfully confirmed, some of which are given here, while none has been refuted. This theory has thus been of importance in opening up the field and leading to empirical discoveries. It would be interesting to see the theory extended to deal with co-operation and competition when the members are engaged upon individual as opposed to group tasks: quite different results have been obtained here—competition results in *greater* output than co-operation, not less, though the quality is again inferior. This result has not yet been explained and it would be valuable for it to be included in Deutsch's theory.

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You will notice that not all of the deductions made in the theory are entirely satisfactory, and the same is true of the two theories to follow. In this case, for example, Derivation C does not follow rigorously from Postulate IV, though it does in a vague, common-sense sort of way. Some theorists would recommend the use of a strict mathematical notation with all the symbols carefully defined. This is the method of Von Neumann and Morgenstern in their *Theory of Games*¹⁴—though they were more concerned with building up a system of mathematical deductions than with generalisations. My own view is that ordinary language can be retained, with corresponding gains in comprehensibility, but that there should be greater efforts at operational definition and rigorous definition.

The second small group theory¹⁵ is my own and deals with certain aspects of norm-formation. Its formal statement is as follows:-

Postulate I. Group members satisfy individual needs by obtaining the group goal.

Postulate II. Attainment of the group goal will not occur unless the members co-operate: in some cases this will entail acting similarly.

Derivation A. The majority will dislike the deviating minority, since their deviation threatens to frustrate the needs of the majority. (Postulate I: Postulate II: Festinger, Schachter and Back, Schachter).

Postulate III. There is a need, in the human organism, for the acceptance by groups: (Numerous industrial studies of job satisfaction etc.).

Derivation B. Group members conform (in order not to be rejected). (Derivation A. Postulate III: widely demonstrated).

Derivation C. Conformity is greater in co-operative groups. (Derivation B, Derivation A, Postulate I: Deutsch etc.).

Derivation D.—and on issues relevant to the group purposes. (Derivation B, Derivation A, Postulate I: Schachter).

Derivation E.—when members have a strong need for acceptance by a group (Derivation B, Derivation A, Postulate III: Newcomb, Festinger, Kelley and Volkart).

Derivation F.—when the behaviour is public to the other members, rather than in private. (Derivation B, Derivation A, Postulate III: Gorden, Argyle, Schachter and Hall).

Derivation G. Delinquents must either (i) belong to deviant groups, (ii) have no need for acceptance, (iii) have had inadequate experience of a group life, or (iv) possess inadequate skills of social perception.

The central part of the theory is Derivation A—the rejection of deviates; this is a social sanctioning process first established experimentally by Festinger and Schachter,¹⁶ though some doubt has been cast on it by the cross-cultural study financed last year by the Ford Foundation.¹⁷ Since this proposition is at the group level of analysis it cannot stand as an axiom, and so two axioms were put forward

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from which it can be deduced, though these are extremely tentative. Postulate III has received a certain amount of verification, and to this extent the theory is reductive: as I said, speculative theories gradually become reductive theories as their axioms are verified. The principal modification this theory now requires is in connection with Derivation F. This was predicted and confirmed—though admittedly it is rather obvious—but it does not as it stands follow rigorously. Furthermore, the theory does predict that there will be no influence in private situations, which is probably untrue in view of internalisation processes. As in certain other small group theories a form of motivation is postulated. Basic research is needed here in order that this part of the theories can be fully reductive, and so that theorists shall not be tempted to postulate curious social needs indefinitely. This theory was devised, and is presented now, as an example of the systematic presentation of commonsense assumptions, to show just what does and does not follow. It is very simple, but at the present stage of research and theory that is surely a necessity.

We turn now to sociological theories proper. The reason why there are fewer theories here and why they are less successful may be given as a summary of much that has gone before. Many sociologists have in the first place been concerned with facts not laws; generalisations are difficult to establish and where explanation has been attempted use has not been made of the deductive method, still less of psychological postulates. In view of the paucity of laws to be explained and of the fact that research is motivated mainly by practical considerations, it may be questioned whether theory in sociology is of any importance at all. The answer is, that as with all knowledge, it is a matter of individual taste and curiosity, and that we may expect theories to be more important in the future.

Horton's theory,¹⁵ like Deutsch's, was put forward before any laws were known. Again I have rearranged the theory and ordered it in postulational form, this time without altering the original in any other respect.

Postulate I. Drinking alcohol reduces anxiety.

Postulate II. Anxiety is caused by anticipation of punishment. (Mowrer).

Postulate III. Society punishes sexual and aggressive behaviour.

Postulate IV. Acts which reduce anxiety are learnt. (Mowrer, etc.).

Derivation A. The drinking of alcohol tends to be accompanied by release of sexual and aggressive impulses. (Postulate III, Postulate II, Postulate I: Horton).

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Derivation B. The strength of the drinking response in any society tends to vary directly with the level of anxiety in the society. (Postulate IV, Postulate I: partly confirmed by Horton).

Derivation C. The strength of the drinking response tends to vary inversely with the strength of the counter-anxiety elicited by painful experiences during and after drinking. (Derivation A, Postulate III, Postulate II).

Derivation C¹. The strength of the drinking response tends to vary directly with the strength of the counter-anxiety elicited by painful experiences during and after drinking. (Derivation B, Postulate II).

The postulates suggest that drink reduces anxiety, that anxiety is caused by anticipation of punishment, and that acts which reduce anxiety are learnt. This is all very reasonable and has some experimental support psychologically—so that the theory is partly reductive. However, the analysis has not been sufficiently concise and a rather interesting defect of the theory becomes apparent when it is stated formally. Not only does it predict Derivation C—that greater punishment for sexual and aggressive behaviour in a society is liable to reduce alcoholism (because of the avoidance of the behaviour indirectly causing the painful experiences), but also the reverse (C¹) is predicted—that alcoholism will be increased in such societies (in order to reduce the anxiety due to anticipated punishment). This difficulty could easily be avoided by appropriate modification of the theory, but it has been left unchanged here simply to demonstrate how formal presentation can bring out such defects. In addition to this difficulty in the logical structure of the theory, many anthropologists are not satisfied with the cross-cultural data used to verify it, on the grounds that notions such as alcoholism, aggressive behaviour etc. cannot be easily compared in different societies.

Another sociological theorist whom I would like to mention is Rashevsky,¹⁹ although his theories are too complex for any short summary to be possible. Rashevsky has put forward theories on a variety of topics—the development of customs, the distribution of wealth and the size of cities. The theories are mostly set out as reductive theories, and the psychological laws are given further explanation in terms of physiological mechanisms. However the psychological laws would not be recognised as such by any psychologist, so that the theories are really speculative and not reductive. Furthermore large numbers of highly unpalatable assumptions have to be made in the course of the deductions, and only at one or two points have any definite predictions been confirmed. The interesting features of Rashevsky's work are that he has tackled

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interesting sociological problems, and has made use of quite elaborate mathematics to make his deductions.

The use of mathematics has of course been central in the advance of physics and other established sciences. It enables more complex and elaborate deductions to be made and with greater deductive rigour. It is particularly useful when the precise quantitative form of functional relationship between two or more variables is known—curves can be fitted to the graphs and appropriate deductions made. On the other hand it may be premature mental gymnastics to force our findings into a mathematical mould when they are largely at the plain A-causes-C stage, and when we do not yet know the *form* of this causal relation, nor its weight compared, say, with the influence of B on C. In my opinion mathematics will be a powerful tool in the future, but I question its importance at the present moment.

So much for our sample theories. I would like to end on an historical note by considering the arguments against the use of psychology in sociology put forward by Durkheim in his *Rules of Sociological Method*²⁰ and in one section of his book *Suicide*.²¹ It is important in this connection to recognise the change which has come about in psychology since Durkheim's day. Sixty years ago the dominant movement in psychology was the study of sensations, thought-processes, and other contents of consciousness, in the laboratories of Leipzig and Wurzburg. Today psychologists study behaviour, including social behaviour, and are concerned with conscious states only as they are publicly manifested, for example, in verbal behaviour. They are interested in the behaviour of individuals just as sociologists are interested in the behaviour of groups and organisations.

Durkheim's first argument was that social facts were to be distinguished from individual states of consciousness, and that therefore sociology was irreducible to psychology. In terms of contemporary psychology the important difference between the two fields is that sociology is concerned with combinations and aggregates of people rather than with single individuals. I have argued above that the implication of this is that psychology might be expected to play a useful role by way of explanation, whether or not this is regarded as 'reducing sociology to psychology.' In the second place Durkheim maintained that social facts could only be explained in terms of

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causal relations with other social facts—in other words they should be shown to be instances of sociological laws—as was also argued in the first part of this paper. I disagree with Durkheim by suggesting that the generalisations *also* require explanation, and it is only at this point that there is any question of psychology entering in. Durkheim's third argument is that in society people do much the same thing for different reasons, so that the study of individuals cannot but be misleading. Modern psychologists however disregard conscious reasons and are more interested in the causal conditions producing statistically significant differences. This seems to be indistinguishable from Durkheim's approach. At the same time even sociologists recognise these individual differences in personality and ability which give rise to delinquency, leadership, invention, and the rest. Some sociologists would relegate psychology to the study of individual differences—in fact only one of many branches of the subject. Another branch has concerned itself with the operation of just those pressures towards conformity to which Durkheim refers.

The last argument put forward by Durkheim is to the effect that the existence of regular statistical trends in such matters as suicide rates proves the existence of collective tendencies exterior to the individual. In fact this does not really follow at all. The chances of a person committing suicide depend on a number of factors—in his inheritance and in his past and present environment. Each of these will give a certain probability to his committing suicide. Since the distribution of all these causal factors will remain fairly constant for a given population—though varying between different populations—so the members of that population will be distributed with respect to their chances of suicide. Beyond a certain point on the distribution they will in fact commit suicide, though we cannot yet predict accurately *which* individuals these will be. If this distribution remains constant for a given population, clearly the suicide rate must also be constant, and clearly too it will be different in other groups in which the various causal factors have different values.

I have done my best to present the case for what seems to be an unpopular approach to sociology. One reason why I have done so is because I think that time is wasted in the exploration of unprofitable approaches to social theory. Probably the time is not yet ripe for any very extensive theorising in sociology—partly through lack

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of generalisations to be explained, partly since research is directed in this field by practical rather than theoretical considerations. Nevertheless there are always some people who have a taste for theory, and judging by the experience of other branches of science, theory will become more important in the future. Being one of those who find theories of particular interest, I hope this is the case.

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NEIGHBOURHOODS OR NEIGHBOURHOOD UNITS?

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The purpose of this article is to suggest that the concept 'neighbourhood unit' has been based upon convenient statistics at the expense of sociological facts. It is maintained that many physical planners have misunderstood the available sociological information and, finding that this does not meet with their requirements, have thrown the baby away with the bathwater.

This applies in particular to those planners who believe that the secret of neighbourliness lies in finding appropriate catchment areas for various primary institutions. It has consequently led them to underestimate the psychological factors.¹ It has caused many planners to think in terms of neighbourhood units rather than neighbourliness, which is rather like confusing houses with homes. As Dennis Chapman has said the neighbourhood unit is 'a concept having administrative convenience rather than a basis in the knowledge of human relations.'² How has this misunderstanding arisen when so many social workers are deeply committed to getting residents actively interested in the life of their locality? This article attempts to unravel some of the difficulties and to put forward some helpful suggestions.

Inter-war housing in Great Britain provided some shocking examples of unimaginative layouts and, consequently, of impoverished social relationships. Miles of ribbon development and acres of one-class housing deserts were the harvest reaped from giving insufficient forethought to housing layout and family selection. Fortunately the Second World War put an end to the sterile arguments as to whether the cause of such aberrations as coals in the bath and pigeons in the bedroom was due to environment or heredity. War-time evacuation drew attention to the slums; by 1944 the climate of opinion was set fair to welcome plans for the rebuilding of Great Britain. But what were the premisses of those responsible for engineering this housing

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development and how did they come to be of that persuasion?

At the time no one influence seemed to be paramount. It was rather the happy confluence of many ideas from related fields. One problem was the size and density of the residential areas. This problem was not a new one; Aristotle mentions it in his *Politics*.³ But there was surprisingly little written on the subject before Ebenezer Howard produced his book *Garden Cities of Tomorrow* in 1898. In 1909, Raymond Unwin mentioned the benefits to be gained from communal facilities in his book *Town Planning in Practice*, especially in his Chapter XI, 'Of Cooperation in Site Planning and how Common Enjoyment benefits the Individual.' He also showed in *Nothing Gained by Overcrowding* (1918) that good housing took up no more room than bad. The next landmark was the work of Clarence E. Perry in America. As early as 1910 he wrote a book entitled *The Wider Use of School Plant* and this was followed by *Neighbourhood and Community Planning* in 1929, and *Housing for the Machine Age* in 1939.

Perry preached the need for groups of families becoming self-sufficient communities within a city segment and satisfying their daily needs around a conveniently sited community centre, shops and junior school. He was searching for an urban counterpart to the village. Many American city managers with their growing problems of city blight as described by Robert E. Park, Burgess, Zorbaugh and others seized upon Perry's ideas. Such new places as Radburn, Sunnyside and Greenbelt all owed something to his thinking, but his message was never put into practice in this country in the 1930's.

Gradually the aspects of neighbourhood planning were knit together. Howard stressed the population limits to the town or garden city, Unwin its layout, Perry the ecology of services necessary within the city segment, whilst C. H. Cooley developed the concept of primary or face-to-face groups. The somewhat belated acceptance of Cooley's ideas gave prominence to those sociologists who were trying to remedy the evils of poor housing and stunted social relationships by drawing people into the daily life of their local community. Cooley taught that personality was the 'product of association.' Personality was, he believed, developed within the orbit of those small groups in everyday life which gratify a person's ego but which at the same time demand his obedience to local customs and rules of behaviour. Cooley left it to others to consider the link

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between the home and group membership. This sort of study is badly needed in Great Britain if we are to know how large a residential area may become that still fosters those everyday contacts beyond the home which are the very stuff of neighbourliness. This is a very serious gap in our knowledge of community planning.

The characteristically English contribution to residential planning after Howard's pioneer effort may be considered under two counts—housing associations and community centres. Early housing associations, or Public Utilities as they were called, set out to provide good artisan houses. By and large they succeeded; in addition they achieved something very different—namely a considerable amount of spontaneous community action. Much valuable information on how to promote neighbourliness can be gleaned from a study of the varied fortunes of these associations especially from the more recent self-build housing societies. Such studies would show how many people have co-operated almost in spite of themselves. These associations have given their members a measure of direct responsibility over the running of their home area; this has in turn promoted neighbourliness. It is indeed strange that these lessons have been so little applied by municipalities.⁴

Housing associations have never been very widely used in this country; there is more than a grain of truth in the observation that it was the post-war housing shortage that provided the stimulus for these self-build groups. If Great Britain had in the inter-war years fostered housing societies similar to the Swedish Hyresgästernas Sparkasse-och Byggnadsforening i Stockholm (HSB for short) or to the National Federation of Housing Societies of Switzerland, then there would have been less need for the spread of the community centre movement. For these two continental organisations recognised the importance of family participation in the life of the wider community, as did the National Association of Community Centres, and they actively aided their daughter societies to achieve this aim.

This brings us to the second count—community centres. The National Association of Community Centres, founded in 1932, grew partly to meet the social needs of ill-planned housing estates. Its roots go back through the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. to the university settlement movement of the 1880's. The Association saw that community centres must become the focal point of these gawky estates. One publication⁵ describing their work exerted a powerful

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influence. The authors recognised that though there was no ideal size to a community their survey of existing centres suggested an average figure of 2,000 families at a density of 12 families per acre.⁹ In 1943 the Survey Group of the National Council of Social Service advocated 'each neighbourhood unit should be socially balanced containing houses of different sizes and types inhabited by families belonging to different income groups.' In that report (Page 8) and in a later publication¹⁰ the National Council of Social Service postulated a neighbourhood population of between 5,000 and 10,000. These publications drew attention to the physical basis of neighbourhoods but they never lost sight of the fact that the main factor was friendliness not size. Quite by chance these figures coincided with the numbers envisaged for the new junior and secondary schools under the 1944 Education Act, and they received additional recognition when they were quoted by Sir Patrick Abercrombie in the County of London Plan¹¹ and the Greater London Plan.¹⁰

Soon those figures took on a magical quality. They always seemed to spring to planners' minds when considering how to take advantage of Section 80, of the 1936 Housing Act, of the 1937 Physical Training and Recreational Act, of Further Educational Schemes and even of Health Centres. Neighbourliness it seemed, was to be fixed in the procrustean bed of neighbourhood units. Some questioned whether social activities could really be decided in multiples of 5,000; Professor Fawcett favoured smaller units, 'vills' of 1,200 to 2,500;¹¹ Dennis Chapman talked of irregular precincts and wards.¹² But the larger figure always seemed to carry the day. Thus the architect's residential unit has tended till recently to become the planner's neighbourhood unit and the neighbourhood unit to be made in turn the web of neighbourliness. Yet I suspect that there are more than a few advocates of the multiple of 5,000 school who feel that their hopes have not been fully realised.

At this stage it is worthwhile pausing to analyse the word 'neighbourhood'. It seems to have at least five distinct meanings.¹³

- i. a population aggregate seldom, if ever, in excess of 10,000.
- ii. a social unit made up of an area of houses whose residents are well known to each other. They need not necessarily belong to the same social class.
- iii. a homogeneous social class area composed of people having the same 'life chances'. Their mode of living and patterns

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of expenditure are similar; they need not know each other very well.

- iv. a housing term whereby areas are separated by reference to the type, age and condition of the houses.
- v. a catchment area for such primary institutions as schools and shops.

Possibly this plethora of images may have partially accounted for the ready acceptance of the term 'neighbourhood unit'.

Yet although the meanings shade one into another, it is fair to suggest that the planner thinks mostly in terms of i. and v. above; the architect of iv. and the sociologist of ii. and iii. Discussion becomes unnecessarily confused when these basic definitions are left to the reader's imagination.

If the foregoing is correct then the apparent confluence of ideas from at home and abroad referred to earlier may well have been based partly upon a misunderstanding. Certainly the present lack of understanding between planners and sociologists is due partly to this confusion of terms as well as to the planners' attitude towards the value of the social sciences. Yet, consciously or otherwise, planners have to make sociological value judgments. For instance one needs more than a superficial knowledge of social stratification to pronounce on whether social contacts of parents are indeed bounded by, or even influenced by, the distance their children have to travel to school; or that the proximity of shops and their catchment areas plays a decisive part in delimiting the activities of the family; or that the different income groups expected to live in a mixed housing area will, in fact, satisfy their various wants within the same locations. Yet these are assumptions common to many housing layouts. They appear to gain some support from two sentiments, first, that the mixing of social classes can be facilitated by the pepperpot distribution of various sized houses,¹⁴ and second that the traditional working class culture is dead and therefore the working classes need 'leadership from elsewhere'.¹⁵

Both these sentiments deserve closer scrutiny. The first reflects the heightened community feeling that was undoubtedly fostered by wartime experiences. But it tends to underestimate the strength of the snob element in our culture (especially south of the Trent) that returned at the close of the war. The second rests upon the tacit belief that the distinctive working-class culture prominent in the

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1900's has disappeared. Consequently, the old-styled working-class, now bereft of their old environment, needed a sprinkling of middle-class residents to act as officials in the clubs set up for their common enjoyment in the new areas. In this way the evils of the inter-war housing deserts would be overcome. One can go far in breaking down class attitudes but those attitudes die hard. This has been the experience of several New Towns. Yet why should some of these architecturally satisfying post-war housing schemes fail to be a social success?

One reason may be that these units have been designed on the basis of making certain services an economical proposition (i.e. definition v. above). That definition, however, is not satisfactory to those who think of a neighbourhood as an amalgam of houses, people and activities which together give those residents a feeling of identity (akin to definitions ii. and iii.) This sometimes vaguely-felt group awareness may be facilitated by using the same shops etc., but it goes deeper. It stems from common attitudes and significant commitments such as joining the same church, drama group, hockey club or self-build housing society. It does not matter overmuch where these activities take place, the point is that neighbourliness feeds on deeds not catchment areas. Too many planners stress the form (location of services) and not the substance (activities and relationships). Consequently they underestimate the psychological factors that cement the bonds of community. For those who doubt the strength of this social cement let them recall how these informal groups always come to the fore in times of stress and jubilation as, for example in the air-raids, V.E., V.J. and Coronation Days.

Even if a kindly disposed planner were to accept this as a line of argument he would be justified in asking how to separate the physical from the psychological factors and, most important from his point of view, how to do so quickly. This is a point not fully appreciated by some sociologists who snipe at planners for using crude yardsticks. Whereas sociologists study an existing social framework and seldom have to predict, planners are constantly having to visualise the future in terms of space, time and people. Thus when planners have turned to the available sociological data on integrated communities they have not always found the information set out as they wanted it. In particular there is little reference to the residents' profile of daily contacts and the relation between home and membership of local groups. Sociologists, it seems to them, have been asking the wrong

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questions. Unfortunately, instead of getting sociologists to interpret the data, planners have, all too often, done it themselves.

There have been attempts however, to reconcile the approaches of sociologist and planner. The author, for one, has been privileged to evolve a method in conjunction with a County Planning Office that may prove of interest elsewhere.¹⁶ The purpose of the survey was to try and find ways of charting neighbourhoods in an established part of a city with a view to using that information to help create neighbourhoods on the new housing estates.

The Survey

Preliminary conversations showed that though planners were agreed Cambridge could be divided, as could most other towns, into distinct areas, it was a matter of conjecture as to what that distinctness rested upon and why it was perpetuated. It was therefore suggested that neighbourhoods would appear to be compounded of both physical and psychological criteria. They are an admixture of social and personal valuations superimposed upon fairly clear-cut physical factors. These may be summarised as follows:

- i. *physical factors that must be accepted*; for example, absence of a bridge over a river, a railway embankment, or heavy road traffic day and night.
- ii. *physical factors that can be overcome given the desire to do so*; for example, walking a relatively long way to see friends, bypassing local shops on the way to buy standardised goods in the city centre, or sending the children to other than the local school.
- iii. *type of house and garden*; even the most superficial glance at the exterior of a house allows it to be rated roughly as an upper, middle or lower class dwelling. This, when taken in conjunction with those houses on either side often leads an observer to feel that he can gauge the tone of the area.
- iv. *subjective factors that are often amenable to change*; for example, patterns of conspicuous consumption, views on dwelling place (whether to have an old home at a controlled rent near to friends or a more modern house at a higher rent on a housing estate).
- v. *subjective factors that change but slowly* (too slowly for some of those interested in social engineering); for example, social

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class bias, deep rooted sentiments regarding cleanliness, behaviour in public, etc.

As no one knew where the various neighbourhoods began or ended it was decided to select two areas arbitrarily and see how far the physical barriers, items i. and ii. above, were in fact social barriers. By common consent the areas chosen were at widely different points on the social scale.

The two areas were studied under the following heads:

- (1) social facilities and net densities,
- (2) changes of use of properties,
- (3) age, condition and type of house,
- (4) educational patterns,
- (5) work patterns,
- (6) leisure patterns,
- (7) shopping patterns,
- (8) local leaders,
- (9) summary.

The first three sections drew upon information already at the disposal of the County Council; the remainder demanded the employment of sociological concepts. Though incomplete the survey was an attempt to use the work of Kurt Lewin especially his idea of 'life space.' This was attempted in three ways:

- i. by plotting mobility profiles, that is to see how a person moves from the intimacy of his family group to fulfil his obligations in the wider community.
- ii. by making an in-group out-group analysis, that is to chart the informal groups and associations to which he belongs and which he regularly frequents.
- iii. by making a leader-follower analysis, that is to note the key personalities who dominate local activities.

Besides noting the distribution and variety of shops and amenities within each area, it was agreed to concentrate in the first place upon the pressures operating on the children and the attitude of parents to local developments in both areas.

The interviews were carried out in two stages. After preliminary talks with various officials and the boundary of the areas were settled, every resident interviewed was asked, amongst other things, to sketch the boundary of the neighbourhood as he understood it on a fresh

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street map and name the prominent local figures. The second stage included interviewing these nominated people and other officials in the areas as well as headmasters, Youth Employment Officers, shopkeepers, etc., who did not reside in the area but who had dealings with the residents.

Area A covered 80 acres, it had an exclusive residential character, large houses, spacious lawns. It contained 465 people in 86 houses with a density of 5 to 8 persons per acre. Area B with its cemetery, 4 schools, 94 shops, 15 converted workshops, 12 public houses as well as a technical college and public garden had 2,974 residents in 721 houses at a net density of 64 persons per acre (220 per acre in one spot). One surprising feature was that there were relatively twice as many children in the richer area. The explanation probably lies in the 'dregs hypothesis' to be explained later.

By reference to the Borough rating and valuation books it was possible to note major alteration to property between 1934 and 1948. The County Planning Office had records of the applications for change of use since then.

The age and condition survey of housing maps showed that all Area A was grade 1 property (the best); Area B contained grade 1 to grade 5 property (the best and the worst). Thus there was no correlation between grade 1 property and upper class residents; there was a correlation between grades 4 and 5 property and lower class residents.

The study of item 4 proved the most interesting. Each area had its particular problems. Broadly speaking, Area A has been and is a community of the successful composed of members of the academic and business *elites*. The age and condition maps coupled with the interviews showed these *elites* were spread between the very large 1900-1910 houses and the smaller 4-bedroomed 1920-1930 houses. The same problem faced both *elites*—namely how to keep up appearances on a reduced net income. Apart from three changes of use of properties since 1947 all of which were disapproved of by the other residents, the squeeze on income has been met by converting the houses into flats, if convenient, or by sending their children to a local authority school until they are 13 instead of a private school. The local private school now draws 4.4% of its pupils from within Area A instead of 50% pre-war.

Area B had a different set of problems. Its residents were lower middle class including shopkeepers living over their shops and

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artisan families having no strong political affiliations (as opposed to those manifested in the contiguous ward). After several interviews it became obvious that the residents of this area—children especially—were deeply involved in the problem of the double standard. The values taught at school regarding hygiene and conduct often conflicted with what was done in the home. All headmasters and headmistresses interviewed agreed on this point; only one, a relative newcomer to Area B, tried to bridge the problem. The problem was acutest where parents actively resisted the work of the school, and where parents readily accepted the training given at school and tried to force their children on to grammar schools.

Success at school for these children, all too often meant tension in the home and, when linked with a study of the local leaders, led to the conclusion that the youth of the area wanted to settle elsewhere. This was borne out by the Youth Employment Officers. After about 30 interviews it became apparent that the neighbourhood of Area B stretched in all cases beyond the area fixed upon; at the same time five local leaders were constantly mentioned. These people were subsequently interviewed. In the other area there was no clear-cut leadership pattern.

Any community worthy of the name must have either a common way of living or a leader or leaders whose decision and activities are respected and followed. What then was the standing of these people? They were the vicar, the chemist, the secretary of a Beaconsfield club, headmistress of the Junior School, and headmaster of a Secondary School. The Headmaster is a newcomer; the rest are counsellors, friends and officials of associations, not spokesmen of the community. Each, in his or her own way, has a personal following but lacks sufficient interest or dynamic character to bring the area together. So much so that it is many years since a local councillor was nominated from within Area B. Yet though many people have a grouse about the state of the area, no one does anything about it, and because there is no local leadership the more energetic youths go elsewhere. This led to the dregs hypothesis—that the area contains those more elderly people who are vaguely disgruntled but too apathetic to do anything about it. More especially as their own children, if successful, move away from the district.

How do the group attitudes of these two areas fit in with the County Planning Proposals? It is the aim of the plan to remove part of the population in Area B and develop a new shopping centre

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along one of the flank roads near the area. Since much of the property in the area is obsolescent and the younger residents who live in overcrowded conditions have no strong local loyalties, the move should be and is being welcomed. There would however appear to be some reason for thinking that the elderly residents will not wish to change their shopping habits since this will mean walking up to half a mile more each way in some cases.

Area A is scheduled to keep its residential character and be denied to offices. This accords with residents' wishes.

To summarise: Area A is a neighbourhood approximating to iii. above (p. 238) whose solidarity is reinforced since all are striving to keep up appearances on what is to them an inadequate net income; because all adults are subjected to similar deprivations it has led to a strong 'we' feeling. This area, however, according to the textbook, should never be termed a neighbourhood because it has not got its quota of shops, clinics, etc. Yet according to the maps drawn by residents the limits chosen for the survey represented their idea of the neighbourhood except for a small 'dent' on the south east boundary.

Area B, a mixed housing area with all kinds of shops as well as schools and public open spaces on its doorstep, has all the physical requirements of a neighbourhood yet it possesses no cohesion and sure identity. The busy roads together with ineffective local leadership conspire to drain the energetic youth away from the area. Though the residents of Area B were agreed on the foremost members there was no consensus of opinion over the size except that it stretched in varying ways to the south, west and north. Not to the east, significantly, where lay the ward with a strong working class movement.

Another factor thrown up by the survey is the importance of the Local Education Authority in the perpetuation of neighbourhoods. For instance, it is no longer possible for a parent to say 'But I want my child to go this secondary modern not that secondary modern.' This is only allowed if the parent happens to reside in the 'free choice' area between the two catchment areas laid down by the L.E.A. However, this ruling is not inflexible.

These are but examples of the thesis, that the sociologists' idea of a neighbourhood and the planners' neighbourhood unit are not necessarily the same. Other examples are not difficult to find. They illustrate some of the problems facing those planners who wish

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to use sociological data. Perhaps the best service that can be done at this juncture is for planners and social scientists to agree upon the sort of evidence from the social sciences which would be conclusive. Only in this way will it be possible to remove much of the current misunderstanding regarding concepts and so work towards possible methods of effective co-operation between sociologists and planners.

Olton,
Warwickshire.

¹ 'Do we not all know of places where the streets are mean and the outlook bleak, but where the prevailing atmosphere is one of neighbourliness and "joie de vivre"?' E. Sewell Harris: *Community Centres and Associations*. London: National Council of Social Service, 1944, Foreword by Sir Wyndham Deedes, p. 3.

² D. Chapman: *Social Aspects of Town Planning*. A paper read to the Town Planning Summer School, 1952.

³ B. Jowett: *The Politics of Aristotle*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1885, Volume I, Book 7, pp. 214-215.

⁴ Such a procedure, it is true, poses many awkward problems for the Housing Authority. But as the author has seen in both in Stockholm and Zurich, those municipalities are saving themselves both time and manpower through getting residents interested in the development of the area at an early stage.

⁵ F. and G. Stephenson: *Community Centres*. London: Housing Centre, 1942.

⁶ F. and G. Stephenson: *Community Centres*. London: Housing Centre, 1942, p. 41.

⁷ Survey Group of National Council of Social Service: *Size and Social Structure of a Town*. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1943, pp. 7-9, especially Recommendation 2 on pp. 8-9.

⁸ National Council of Social Service: *Our Neighbourhood*. London, 1950, p. 17.

⁹ J. H. Forshaw and Sir L. P. Abercrombie: *County of London Plan*. London: Macmillan & Co., 1943, pp. 28-29, especially section 106.

¹⁰ Sir L. P. Abercrombie: *Greater London Plan* 1944. London: H.M.S.O., 1945, pp. 113-114, section 282.

¹¹ C. B. Fawcett: *A Residential Unit for Town and Country Planning*. London: University of London Press, 1944, p. 35.

¹² D. Chapman: *Social Aspects of Town Planning*. As above.

¹³ No mention will be made in this article to those areas that may with equal justification be termed neighbourhoods which are formed in and around a person's place of work (insofar as it is physically separated from his home area).

¹⁴ The Bourville Village Trust, considered a mixed community *par excellence*, has unfortunately neither pre-war nor post-war figures to support the contention that a mixture of leased and rented houses, large and small, actively promotes a greater amount of social intercourse either between residents or between social classes than does one-class housing.

¹⁵ National Council of Social Service: *Our Neighbourhood*. London, 1950, Preface by W. G. S. Adams, p. 3; and 'On the municipal estates there was a tendency for the residents to be drawn exclusively from those groups who do not throw up natural leaders to organise community life.' p. 14.

¹⁶ R. J. Hacon: *Community Patterns in the Borough of Cambridge. A study of two areas*. Manuscript with Cambridgeshire County Planning Office.

FRIENDSHIP AND THE SOCIAL GROUP

E. T. Ashton

Current studies in social psychology have made it clear that the complicated relationships found in associations and communities have their prototypes in the basic relationships found in smaller social groups. The sociologist has increasingly in the last few decades sought information from the anthropologist about human behaviour in simpler societies than our own. Similarly social psychologists have attempted by analysis of simple social groupings to understand behaviour patterns such as aggression, co-operation and prejudice in more complex society. One regular pattern of human behaviour is that of personal friendship, a basic component of many primary groups.

The term 'primary groups' was introduced into sociology by C. H. Cooley to refer to those intimate groups, first in time of appearance and in importance, which he styled 'the nursery of human nature.'¹ By primary groups he meant those characterised by intimate face-to-face association and co-operation. 'The result of intimate association psychologically,' he maintained, 'is a certain fusion of individualities in a common whole, so that one's very self, for many purposes at least, is the common life and purpose of the group.'²

In this sense a friendship can be considered as a form of small group, i.e. as a pair, or a 'dyad,' as Becker³ calls it, other such dyads being married couples, business partners, or pairs of men engaged regularly on the same job. Some may find it odd to speak of two people constituting a group. In social psychology however a 'group' is normally taken to mean 'two or more people who bear an explicit psychological relationship to one another.'⁴ A dozen or more people may not be a group in this sense, e.g. people in a railway waiting-room having no verbal or other psychological contacts with each other. A smaller number of people on the other hand may react psychologically and influence each other, forming a true social group. The psychological reactions between two people are surely as rich and complex as those between a larger number. 'The group of two

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individuals may be based on many kinds of inter-personal relationships. These include feelings of friendship, love, admiration, respect, identification, loyalty, co-operation, as well as dislike, hatred, sadism, masochism, dominance, submission, rivalry and just sheer indifference.⁵

In the detailed study of dyads each type of pair is considered unique in some respects, but is deemed to have certain factors in common with other types of dyad. The dyad itself is treated as a social unit involving more intimate relationships than any other group. In the dyad, studied as an ideal type, face-to-face relationships persist over a time long enough for a clear pattern of interaction between personalities to emerge. Each partner in the dyad is solely responsible for any action of his that concerns the other—there is no third person to whom the blame or burden of responsibility can be shifted. Their relationships are not depersonalised, as are so many modern functional relationships. There is an 'all-or-nothing' air about any kind of dyad. No compromise can be made if one of the pair is in trouble; sufficient 'help must be given, given quickly and given willingly, or disappointment and disillusionment may end the relationship entirely.

While the intimate character of a friendship implies definite and accepted loyalty and responsibility, the conditions are not as formally defined in friendship as in other types of dyad. The relations of the married couple are recognised and regulated in laws of church and state. A business partnership between two men is likewise legally arranged and regulated. Even in the case of two men working together their relations are made explicit, by the nature of the task and by supervision from managers or foremen. No such written or functional definition of roles marks the friendship relation in Western society. Each friendship will have its own individual pattern determined by likeness and differences, mutual needs and common circumstances, operating against a background of social customs, ideals and expectancies.

The concept of social distance has been used in measuring statistically the degree of friendliness between different groups or individuals, using as indices the extent of their willingness to meet, eat, or live with members of other social groups and races. Thus Bogardus, in his celebrated study of social distance, asked 1725 Americans which nationalities they would admit to their club as personal friends.⁶ To an Englishman, very weary of hearing so often

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about Anglo-American differences, it was refreshing to note that English headed the list of preferred club-mates, native Americans themselves coming rather lower down the list as choices.

A valuable analysis of friendship is suggested by Leopold von Wiese's description of an event in the social field as one in which this social distance between men has been changed.⁷ Von Wiese describes successive stages in the development of intimate social contacts. A state of 'isolation' gives way to 'toleration.' 'Toleration' in turn leads to a further lessening of social distance in 'adjustment,' which von Wiese defines as 'association through simultaneous and mutual recognition of difference.' This is surely a neat and accurate way of describing the stage of acquaintanceship when potential friends find each other's company interesting because of, and not just in spite of, differences of outlook and personality! However much similarity there is between friends, they will not resemble each other completely in all respects. Toleration of differences is not enough; by itself it would not bring people together but would merely mean that they would let each other live in peace, but, separately. This intermediate stage of adjustment, more positive and constructive than toleration, is necessary before potential friends will consider it worth while ironing out those other differences between them which are irritating rather than interesting.

Adjustment attained, differences themselves may be utilised in an agreed division of functions, obligations and rights, making the relationship richer and more meaningful. As Becker says, 'discrepancies in age, intelligence, experience, reaction-time, insight, beauty and all the subtle aspects of personality contribute to differentiation of conduct.'⁸ But these differences once adjusted and accepted, friendship is founded, Durkheim suggests, on organic solidarity rather than on the mere mechanical solidarity of acquaintanceship. This is even more the case at the next stage of von Wiese's analysis, the stage of 'accordance.'

At this stage deliberate attempts are made to overcome those differences between friends that serve no useful purpose in the relationship, but threaten rather to disrupt it. If these attempts are successful the final stage of 'amalgamation' is reached.

This is a plausible picture of the gradual building-up of a typical friendship from a state of mere acquaintanceship. If it appears to leave out the warm affection and mutual attraction of real friendship, it is because the accent has been put on the actual processes involved

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rather than on the affective states accompanying them. The development of warm comradeship between two people is a gradual process; sudden friendships are as rare as love at first sight and probably just as unreliable!

Such sudden friendships are normally the product of emergencies such as action stations in wartime, and the union usually ceases with the emergency, unless the critical moment is one in a long campaign or series of troubles. As long as the emergency lasts, so will the friendship, but with curious psychological features that distinguish it from friendships slowly formed in normal circumstances. Margaret Mead comments for instance on the 'buddy' relationships between American soldiers in World War II,¹⁰ relationships based on sentiments intense but transitory.

An early attempt to examine statistically the nature of friendship was made by Watson.¹⁰ He examined the factors entering into the formation of friendship, putting truthfulness first in importance, followed by loyalty, sympathy and congeniality, in that order. Most of the people he questioned answered in the affirmative the enquiry whether they knew on first meeting a person whether the basis for friendship was present!

The Lynds in their celebrated 'Middletown' survey gave figures showing the big difference in the number of intimate friends of middle-class wives and working-class wives respectively. One working-class wife in three had no intimate friends of the same sex, as compared with one in eight of middle-class wives. The Lynds attributed the higher proportion of intimate friendships among middle-class wives to the fact that they had moved from district to district less frequently than working-class families. Middle-class wives had also a more developed system of social clubs. On the other hand working-class wives found it easier to make close friends among near neighbours. It is interesting that the Lynds gained the impression that women, especially middle-class women, actively cultivate friendships more than do men.¹¹

An interesting statistical study was made at a mid-western American university in 1947 of the friendship patterns of 70 ex-service students and their wives.¹² Despite similarity in age and background 22% had no close friendships at all. The median was two friends to each married couple: families with children had more close friends, and figures for close friends increased directly in proportion to the number of children in the family unit. Childless

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couples were low down on the friendship score. Often friends had first met through their children, and children remained their main common interest and the foundation of their friendship. Next to the children it was the husband rather than the wife who had in the majority of cases initiated the friendship.

A study in an American village of about a thousand inhabitants produced equally interesting results.¹³ Villagers were asked who were their best friends in the community. Examination of the choices showed that friendship groups correlated to some extent with social status. On the other hand there was no clear occupational basis for the friendship patterning, as each group contained representatives of varying occupations.

Surprisingly, family relationships were not influential in the selections made, nor were factors of propinquity significant. The single factor most clearly associated with friendship choice in this study was membership in a common church.

Some sociological studies of friendship are directly concerned with the part it plays in general patterns of social behaviour; others approach the subject indirectly in examining the relations between sociability and mental health. Research carried out in the London area combined both approaches in a study of the inter-relationships of sociality, friendship and mental health.¹⁴ Several hundred students were given tests and questionnaires measuring the amount of individual social participation, degree of neuroticism and actual friendship scores.

The enquiry was summarised under four headings, viz:-

- (a) Correlations between attitudes to social contacts and specific personality traits.
- (b) Relationship between these specific personality traits and actual friendship scores.
- (c) A comparison of social attitudes with general social participation scores.
- (d) Relationship between social attitudes and the size of the students' families.

The necessity for human beings in a world of impersonal contacts to belong to a 'congeniality' group characterised by 'warmer more intimate forms of interaction'¹⁵ has several times been stressed. W. I. Thomas, one of the great American pioneers of sociology, included the need for intimacy as one of the 'fundamental wishes' that he considered basic in human nature.

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An attempt to verify hypotheses about the nature of intimate relationships was made by a student who had the advantage of pursuing his research both in Britain and the United States.¹⁴ G. Masterton defines friendship in terms of 'the degree to which one appreciates another's personality characteristics and receives social psychological satisfactions.' His research aimed at testing statistically the nature and distribution of 'characteristics' and 'satisfactions' among groups of college friends.

By questioning students about the qualities they liked and disliked in people he was able to draw up a list of 11 characteristics (very similar in America and England). He then used ranking forms to find which were considered the most important characteristics; students also filled rating forms which revealed the extent to which they considered their friends possessed the preferred characteristics. In a similar manner social psychological satisfactions were listed and ranked, students again completing forms to indicate the degree to which friends fulfilled psychological needs.

It was concluded that friends are chosen, consciously or otherwise in terms of a small number of characteristics rather than by reference to a whole list of traits. Sociometric analyses suggested that although friendships are normally reciprocal, feelings may often be more intense on the part of one friend, and the basis of friendship may differ. Nor, it was concluded, do people necessarily choose friends who resemble themselves.

Prominent in the attempt to measure statistically the number and degree of such intimate group contacts is the work of Moreno.¹⁵ In all social groups the networks of 'tele,' to use his own term, i.e., patterns of attraction and repulsion, are as important as the more formal structure. His earliest and best-known research was of course into the friendship relations of girls at a reformatory school in Hudson, New York. The girls were in cottages under housemothers. It will be remembered that he obtained privately from each girl statements of which other girls they would like as companions in various routine situations, such as eating and working. Their allegiances, including changes in friendship patterns over a long period, were then plotted diagrammatically.

Each cottage group was studied separately and sociometric diagrams were prepared, indicating the various constellations of attraction. Thus some girls were clearly 'stars' in their group, picked out as desirable friends by other girls. Each cottage group held pairs

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of mutual friends, often sufficient unto themselves, not mixing with other girls. Other sub-groupings included 'triangles' where A wanted B as a friend, B however preferring C.

Such studies reveal not only actual relationships but potentialities and frustrations, giving a general picture of the harmony or lack of it inside groups. A number of girls for example, in the Hudson study, were 'isolates' or outsiders as far as the affectionate life of the group was concerned. 'Isolates' such as these, in any group, may not only be unhappy themselves, vainly seeking the friendship of others, but may also be a threat to the cohesiveness of the total group.

Moreno's research itself did immediate service in revealing the influence of friendships on the actual behaviour of group members. Thus fourteen girls who ran away from the reformatory school in a two-week period were seen on the sociograms as a definite network of mutual influences. 'Isolate' runaways, girls who were not psychologically linked to other girls, did not start any such epidemic of truancy. Careful observation also showed that rumours inside the school and cottage groups tended to be confined to channels of interlinked friends.

Earlier and less sophisticated friendship studies led Moreno to point out, and guard against, difficulties in the sociometric study of companionship groups. He emphasized the need for a careful analysis of the multiple criteria which enter a single friendship; he avoided vaguely defined criteria. He and his collaborators took pains to ensure objective observation of intra-group relations so that no preconceived pattern would be imposed in analysing a group. As a result his work has inspired many later analyses of social situations, several of them valuable for the study of dynamic friendship within the small group.

It is clear that sociometric reports reveal vital points about friendship patterns in group life. The choices may show that the group as a whole is only a formal collection of individuals, met for general purposes which do not involve real friendships among its members. It may be found that the group includes several cliques or sub-groups that have little in common; some cliques may be purely interest-cliques, others friendship-cliques, some both. The existence of such sub-groups may seriously affect, for good or ill, the purposes and efficiency of the total group. On the other hand the links of choice may extend throughout a group of a score or more, giving cohesion lacking even in smaller groups.

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In practice, information gained by sociometric study may be used in several ways. The characteristics of individual isolates may be studied, and they may be helped to find contentment in suitable friendships. Often their isolation or frustration is caused by the fact that their friendship choices are too ambitious. Encouragement to team up with someone who is not a 'star' may prevent frustration and give the person concerned more emotional satisfaction. Linked realistically in friendship to more approachable and attainable companions, they may then be able to contribute more interest and effort towards the group as a whole. Sometimes sociometric observation has led to a reshuffle of the whole structure of the particular group, not so much with the purpose of furthering individual friendships but with a view to greater efficiency and unity within the group.

It is obvious then that study of the dynamics of the smaller social group should include detailed study of friendships between members. Friends, however closely attached, spend much of their time, at work or play, in a group situation and have social links of one sort or another with others in the group. Likewise realistic study of the 'dyad' must include assessment of the other forces in the social field which influence friendship.

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¹ C. H. Cooley: *Social Organisation*. 1909. p. 23.

² Ibid.

³ Becker and Useem: 'Sociological Analysis of the Dyad.' *American Sociological Review*. Vol. 7. 1942.

⁴ Kretch and Crutchfield: *Theory and Problems of Social Psychology*. 1948. p. 18.

⁵ Ibid., p. 375.

⁶ Quoted in K. Young: *Handbook of Social Psychology*. 1946. p. 263.

⁷ Leopold von Wiese: *Sociology*. 1941.

⁸ Op. cit.

⁹ M. Mead: *Male and Female*. 1950.

¹⁰ W. Watson: *Psychology from the Standpoint of a Behaviourist*. 1919.

¹¹ R. S. and H. M. Lynd: *Middletown*. 1929. p. 272.

¹² A. P. and R. T. Hare: 'Family and Friendship within the Community.' *Sociometry*. Vol. 12. 1948.

¹³ G. Lundberg: *Social Research*. 1942. p. 331.

¹⁴ P. Halmos: *Solitude and Privacy*. 1952.

¹⁵ K. Young: *Handbook of Social Psychology*. 1946.

¹⁶ G. Masterton: 'Social Roles.' Unpublished M.A. Thesis. (Nottingham University, 1952).

¹⁷ J. L. Moreno: *Who shall survive?* 1934.

THE POSITIVIST GENERATION OF FRENCH REPUBLICANISM

John Eros

The investigation of the doctrinal, as well as of the social and organizational aspects of political movements is one of the tasks of the political sociologist. The study of the role played by the positivist thought in the early years of the Third Republic might help us to clarify some aspects of the relationship between the world of politics and that of science and modern philosophy.

Some contemporary students of the history of political ideas, for instance F. A. Hayek, assert that political movements guided by doctrines of a scientific character, such as Comte's Positivism, are bound to end up in authoritarianism.¹ But it seems to me that the investigation of the field of Comte's influence disproves this contention. Many followers of the Comtist philosophy succeeded in reconciling Comte's basic teachings with a demand for liberal and democratic institutions.² Already during the eighteen fifties an increasing number of positivists who had accepted Comte's theory of knowledge, his hierarchy of sciences and his philosophy of history but rejected his political and religious conclusions, joined the democratic opposition to Napoleon III.

Emil Littré, was the most prominent among the followers of Comte who joined the republicans. In the years of the Second Empire he became the mentor of the young republican generation.³ Now, Littré claimed in 1877 that Positivism had played an important role in assuring the victory of Republicanism and democracy which then seemed firmly established after a decade of bitter struggles. It was generally agreed that this victory was due to a new and realistic strategy, and to a new mood of moderation reigning among the Republicans. And Littré further asserted that among the factors bringing about this realism and moderation 'the teachings of positive

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'philosophy' had played a not negligible role. He even said that most of the other factors were of a temporary and practical nature, but that positivist philosophy had made a permanent and doctrinal contribution, which assured the stability of the new trend. In the past—said Littré—moderation had been deeply despised, the republicans had wanted everything at once; and, by raising all the final issues at the decisive moments of the fight for the republic, they had created fatal disagreements within their own ranks. Comte's influence had altered all this. Littré claimed that the empiricist character of the new republican strategy and behaviour had been influenced by the 'development of positive knowledge.' Many aspects of Comte's philosophy were open to discussion, thought Littré, but the existence of sociology, i.e., the science of societies considered as natural phenomena and subject to the laws of evolution, was undeniable; and so, according to him, the concept of the 'sociologically impossible' drew a limit to Utopian and arbitrary rationalist conceptions. It also showed that permanent social-retrogression was impossible; in this way was the new republican policy of moderation, assuring liberty, order and progress, in accordance with the teachings of positivist sociology and philosophy.

Emile Littré was for many years intimately connected with the French republican movement and witnessed the struggle of democracy against authoritarianism. It is paradoxical that his views on the political role of Positivism should stand in such strong contrast to those of some contemporary students of the history of political ideas. What might be the reason for this divergence?

Both, the Comtist intellectualist sociologist and the modern historian of ideas seem to assume that doctrines of a purely intellectual and philosophical origin determine the character of political movements. Both under-estimate the importance of the social basis and of the structure of political movements. Consequently they do not sufficiently consider the changing roles played by ideas of a similar character in different movements and different historical situations.

Hence, I propose in this paper first to raise the sociological problem; namely the various functions fulfilled by scientific ideas in modern political movements, and then, second, in the light of this, to analyse the role played by Comtist philosophy in the republican movement of nineteenth century France.⁴

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Scientific Thought and Political Movements.*

A close historical study of social and political movements refutes the intellectualistic view that they are directed by ideas and doctrines which are independent of political and social factors. Similarly, the materialistic notion that ideas have no independent life of their own, and are nothing but a reflection of economic and social struggles appears equally unacceptable. So, when we try to outline the development of a given political movement, we must proceed without any pre-conceived theories. We must analyse the life of the ideas themselves, the evolution of the social-political movements, and the changing functional inter-relationship between all these.

In such political movements as are open to influences originating in the scientific sphere, the connection between scientific thought and politics will be noticeable at various levels. At each of these levels the notions borrowed from the world of science and modern philosophy will have different functions.

(a) The first level could be called *the level of political doctrines*. Here the formulation of political principles, as well as the definition of the aims of a movement are subject to intellectual influences and, among these, to such as may originate in the world of the scientist and of the modern philosopher whose outlook is determined by the development of experimental science. Here, we witness a fusion of non-political views and principles with political doctrines and aims. To attain to a political force these scientific and philosophical views have to be fitted into a political framework. This generally means that the politician utilizes these scientific views and methods in order to strengthen a political organization. A movement might think to gain by reformulating its basic doctrine and programme so as to be able to claim that these are scientifically sound. Hence, the politician will not only pick and choose, but often also modify and distort the notions borrowed from the arsenal of science and philosophy. In fact, such distortion is inevitable if ideas are torn from the scientific and theoretical matrix within which they have developed and are applied for political purposes. In political movements everything tends to be subordinated to the exigencies of the struggle for power, to the requirements of the organization, and to the interests and psychological needs of those belonging to such movements. Consequently, scientific concepts, developed in the quest for truth for its own sake, may assume a strategic function, when utilized by the political thinker

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and leader. And thereby they contribute to the creation of political ideology. Party leaders will make use of ideologies of a scientific character if these seem to furnish them with arguments effective in gaining supporters and useful in the formulation of such a strategy as promises success in the struggle against their adversaries. The scientific content of a political ideology is usually limited. Nevertheless, it is not negligible. For it might well help the political leaders in correctly assessing the forces of society and the realities of the historical situation.

(b) The second level where the scientific and political world meet, is that at which the *personal philosophies and the world-outlook* of the members of the political and social movement *are formulated*. In those political movements which are catering for those who have lost their traditional religious faith, vulgarized scientific philosophies often acquire a quasi-religious function. One of the reasons why views derived from the natural sciences had such a strong hold upon the minds of the liberals, radicals and socialists during the nineteenth century, was the intellectual and emotional vacuum created by the weakening and recession of the traditional beliefs. The other was political. It was a political as well as a psychological necessity that this vacuum should be filled. Thus the various scientific doctrines of the 'age of enlightenment' and of the nineteenth century had a political-strategic, as well as a quasi-religious, psychological function in the movements of the Left in France.

The political and strategic reason for accepting optimistic, evolutionary philosophies of a scientific character may be found in the militant republicans' need for a theory of social and intellectual development which, according to them, proved the victory of their principles to be inevitable, i.e., that 'History was on their side.' Armed with such a doctrine they could challenge the traditionalist and religious world-view invoked by the authoritarian defenders of the hierarchical order of society. Comtism—or Positivism—appeared to the French republicans of the eighteen seventies to do precisely this.

In France the scientific and progressive doctrines embraced by the social and political reformers, had undergone many changes between 1760 and 1860; and the development of scientific thought provided the various groups of the Left with a quarry from which to build their political doctrines. It also enabled them to construct personal philosophies. It is in this sense then, that we can say that, at the

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two levels mentioned so far similar intellectual influences fulfilled dissimilar functions.

(c) The third level, at which the worlds of modern science and of politics meet might be called the *technological level*. To solve the problems arising in modern society in the realms of economic production, education, labour, defence and communications the politician will have to enlist the help of the scientific expert and will have to answer the question: what should be the relationship of the politician to the scientist and technician? The answer will change, of course, in different situations and will be affected by the political and doctrinal character of the movement which the politician leads. But even before he has obtained power and influence, the political leader will have realised the social and political role of the technological factors in the social milieu in which he acts and will have to decide what use to make of these, in order to attain his political ends. In France the political effects of technological changes were clearly marked during the years of the Second Empire: modern technology had out-moded the old republican strategy of popular insurrections. But, at the same time, the increasing unification of France by the railways and other forms of communications, helped the republicans to permeate hitherto isolated regions, till then inaccessible to the social and intellectual influences of the towns, while a modern mass-produced press made it possible to exercise an ever more decisive influence on a nation-wide public opinion. At this stage it began to dawn on the republicans that universal suffrage, hitherto a useful political weapon of the Right, might now function in their own favour.

The New Republican Leadership.

The intellectual and technological changes which took place after 1850 had a decisive influence upon the development of the French republican movement and during the eighteen seventies the leadership of the republican party underwent a radical transformation. At the time of the struggle against the Empire, Léon Gambetta and Jules Ferry, two members of the young republican generation, emerged as its most energetic and able organizers. By 1876 they were at the head of the two numerically most important fractions in Parliament: the 'Union Républicaine,' led by Gambetta, and the 'Gauche Républicaine' led by Ferry. These two groups represented a new brand of Republicanism; and, in the decisive years of the foundation

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of the Third Republic they successfully out-maneuvred both the old-fashioned radicalism of the extreme Left and the conservative Republicanism of the so-called 'Centre Gauche.' The fact that these two new leaders of the republican movement were deeply impressed by the teachings of Comte and Littré, as well as by the methods and achievements of the positive sciences, contributed to the distinctly positivist character of the doctrine, strategy and propaganda of the whole movement.

Gambetta and Ferry were influenced by Positivism not only when they formulated their political doctrines; they also accepted a brand of positive philosophy as the foundation of their personal world outlook, and they were eager to utilize prominent representatives of science in the reconstruction of republican France. Yet, they were not merely followers of a narrow creed. On the contrary, they were first and foremost politicians, men of action, with dominating personalities who were capable of assimilating the intellectual influences of their age into systems of their own.

What were the intellectual influences which dominated in the republican camp? Since the last decades of the eighteenth century there was a competition between the encyclopédist school of free-thought with its scientific materialism or sensualism slightly disguised as deism, and the 'natural religion' of Rousseau—a genuine and emotional variant of deism. Moreover, this clash of viewpoints was carried over into politics and reflected a competition between rival wings of the French political Left.

At the time of the French Revolution the emotional 'natural religion' of Rousseau became extremely popular, and was the philosophy underlying the official republican creed as proclaimed by Robespierre.⁵ During the first decades of the nineteenth century the so-called 'Idéologues'—most of them Republicans and Democrats—attempted to carry on the philosophical traditions of the Encyclopédistes. Yet, by 1848 most of the republicans were admirers of Rousseau, or followers of the spiritualistic philosophy of Cousin, while others had embraced one of the various pantheistic creeds of the romantic age.⁶ Atheism was represented in public life only by a few politically unsuccessful spokesmen of the extreme Left. In the eighteen-fifties, however, the situation changed. Now that the prestige of the natural sciences was in the ascendent, Materialism, Positivism and finally Darwinism became more and more popular.⁷ Vulgarized

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scientific views began to dominate not only philosophy, art and literature, but even the moral and the political outlook of the new generation. After the interval of a romantic return to a sentimental deism or to a traditional religious world outlook, the scientific spirit of the *Encyclopédie* and of the *Ideologues* returned with a vengeance. Militantly atheistic and materialistic philosophies became very popular among the republicans.

Gambetta and Ferry followed this trend only up to a point. Apart from a very short period during his student years—when Gambetta was an admirer of Sylvain Maréchal, the militant atheist writer—he never agreed with the extremists. He did not accept materialism, whereas many of his fellow students were reading and teaching the old fashioned materialism of Holbach, or the new theories of Büchner, Vogt and Moleschott, and finding their political heroes in Robespierre, Hébert and Blanqui. But Gambetta, unlike them, studied the oratory of Danton; was fascinated by Mirabeau's notes on the necessity of establishing a strong government after the revolution; and disliked Rousseau, the idol of the old style republicans. Furthermore his favourite thinkers were Proudhon and Comte. Proudhon he never ceased to admire, especially his strongly anti-clerical book *De la justice dans la Révolution et dans l'Eglise*, but his boundless admiration for the natural sciences, his views on history and on the laws of social evolution are all distinctively Comtist in flavour. For, like Comte, he stressed the need for social change to be smooth and continuous, and guaranteed by the advance of science and education.

Yet, for all this, there was also a strongly individualistic element in his philosophy. In intimate conversations he often declared his belief in the creative historical role of the great national and democratic leaders. It is only true to say that Gambetta's world outlook was in fact composed of many and various elements of which the Comtist influence was only one. His philosophy was a highly personal one, representing a synthesis of liberal-democratic ideas and positivist principles.¹ The influence of positivism philosophy is to be found, most clearly, in his early political speeches in which he urged that 'instead of vague propositions . . . a scientific spirit should be introduced into government . . . We want a method and a system.' Yet, in the same period (1868-69) he claimed, in the name of popular sovereignty, the establishment of a democracy based on universal suffrage—notions which Comte would have rejected as 'speculative,'

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and 'metaphysical.' And yet, notwithstanding, the prominent pupils of Comte—not only the heretical Comtist, Littré, but also the 'orthodox' Laffitte—regarded Gambetta as the spokesman of Positivism in politics. They agreed with him when, in 1869, declaring that the heroic age of the republican party was over, he repudiated violence and pointed to education and orderly discussion as the new method to be used in the struggle for the republic. These words, coming from the youngest but most resolute member of the parliamentary opposition, announced the advent of a new type of Republicanism. Later, at the height of his influence, Gambetta spoke of Comte as the greatest thinker of the century, and quoted him as an authority when advocating the teaching of science in the elementary schools of France.

Jules Ferry, like Gambetta, had studied law at the Ecole de Droit and started his career as a barrister. He was also an assiduous student of philosophy. In the end he turned from Kant and Bentham to become a partisan of the positivist school, as represented by Littré.⁹ Ferry confessed later that Comte's philosophy came as a revelation to him, and some of his public utterances show that in his outlook Comtism played the role of a religion. In a solemn address delivered at a meeting of freemasons in 1876, Ferry claimed that men should discard the notion of original sin and regard humanity 'not as a fallen race dragging itself painfully in a vale of tears,' but 'as an unending procession marching forward towards the light'; and he added that the believer in Progress 'will feel that he is a part of Humanity, the great Being which is immortal, and thus he will be liberated from death.'¹⁰

In spite of his strong Comtist leanings, Ferry was an admirer and friend of the representatives of French liberal economic theory. As a young man he was also influenced by Cobdenite internationalism. After the crisis of 1870 Ferry broke with what he felt were internationalistic illusions and accepted Darwinistic notions on the necessity of power politics. Herbert Spencer's sociology and philosophy, also, attracted him in this period.

Whereas Gambetta always felt a deep affinity with Proudhon, the spokesman of the non-privileged French peasant and artisan, there was not even the slightest trace of Proudhon's social radicalism in Jules Ferry's world. In spite, therefore, of many similarities, the social outlook of the two men was very different. This difference

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became more accentuated after the triumph of their common policy.

What Gambetta and Ferry had in common, was their unshakable belief in the redeeming force of scientific progress and of popular education and democracy. They were the public representatives of a world outlook which was to be branded as 'scientism' when the reaction against the belief in the omnipotence of science came at the end of the century. Gambetta's and Ferry's belief in the importance of secular education and their opposition to church influence was in accordance with the educational principles of the positivist school. What they wanted was to weaken the influence of the clergy by handing over education to men of science and to convinced republicans. But they did not agree with those materialists and political radicals who were out to destroy the church and exterminate religious life. Using them occasionally as political allies, they drew a line between their own limited, positivist anti-clericalism and the extremist programme of the unbending radicals. They wished to 'separate church and education,' but opposed the demand of the extreme Left for the abolition of state support for the clergy and for the abrogation of the Concordat with the Vatican.

In the public controversy, centring on the building up of a lay system of education, Gambetta and Ferry made use of all the arguments which they had at their disposal. They seemed at their most sincere when appealing to the Comtist ideology; the Comtist philosophy of history with its 'three stage law' made them feel justified in their attitude. This law seemed to prove that the theological and metaphysical spirit of the past would have to give way to the spirit of positive science and philosophy.

Yet Comte's 'three stage law' also suggests that the 'metaphysical' spirit, represented by doctrinaire lawyers and politicians standing for popular sovereignty, must disappear, and that parliamentary government must be replaced by the hierarchy of Comtist philosophers and experts. It is characteristic that this aspect of the 'three stage law' was passed over silently by the republican positivists. Why? Because they regarded themselves as sufficiently modern and scientifically minded to fulfil the requirements of Comte's prediction! Gambetta urged that politics should cease to be the domain of the adroit intriguers with their perfidious manoeuvres, and should become 'une science morale';¹¹ while Jules Ferry apostrophised science as the master of human destiny and the queen of the future. They co-

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operated with the prominent representatives of French science, but both statesmen jealously guarded their personal position which gave them political power, and the primacy of politics remained unchallenged, even in the camp of positivist Republicanism.

The new political Strategy and Doctrine.

We have now reviewed the intellectual elements which shaped the personal philosophies of Gambetta and Ferry. What factors determined their political doctrine and strategy?

Among the foremost were their own political experiences, which were tied up with the events of the 'fifties and 'sixties. The young men who were to become the founders of the Third Republic had witnessed in their formative years the impotence of the insurrectionist, and equally of the idealistic variants of romantic republicanism in the face of modern Caesarism and its ruthless methods. But later, on joining the camp of the legal opposition, they saw how this dictatorship weakened and retreated in the face of an awakening public opinion. And here they themselves found ingenious ways of mobilizing the electorate by peaceful agitation. Thus, in their hands, universal suffrage became a formidable weapon.

Gambetta's electoral tactics consisted in accepting the electoral programmes framed by the most radical debating societies and local republican groups; but by adding a few stylistic touches, and by addressing the electorate in speeches which were both moderate and full of democratic fervour, Gambetta and his friends succeeded in winning the votes of even the most divergent sections of Republicanism. They had to steer a difficult course, for they had to win votes from those frightened by the spectre of radical democracy and of the 'République Sociale,' without at the same time disillusioning those who had been fighting for these ideals.

After the collapse of the imperial régime in 1870 Gambetta and his friends were brought face to face with the need to govern France by the consent of the majority of the electorate. They did not repudiate their radical programme; what they did was to employ new tactics.¹² They established a list of legislative priorities, and then concentrated on the few reforms which were acceptable to a more or less conservative public opinion at a given moment. It was on account of these tactics which were quite new for the republicans that they were called 'opportunist' by the radicals. (They called

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themselves 'legal radicals,' or 'governmental republicans'). The Gambettists claimed that what was dubbed as Opportunism was nothing but the *application of the methods of modern positive science to politics*. This claim was not without doctrinal and psychological significance.

Many young republicans were accessible to the argument that to ensure the success of the movement the demands for reforms must be limited by the spirit of scientific realism. And, if this were so, it seemed obvious to the positivist that as all energy had to be concentrated on a few reforms aimed at the strengthening of the Republic, the establishment of a nation-wide system of obligatory, gratuitous and lay primary education must have priority. Gambetta, when addressing the country in 1872, stressed that his party had decided to fight the ignorance of the masses because there was nothing to be gained from democracy and universal suffrage 'without distributing education with both hands.' He declared that 'there is only one thing which could serve as a foundation to a truly human society . . . , and that is science'; by increasing the number of prominent scientists and by surrounding them with respect 'the diffusion of light into the deepest layers of society' would be assured.¹²

The application of this programme had to wait until, under Gambetta's leadership, the republicans succeeded in gaining an overwhelming majority in Parliament. This was at the close of the seventies. In between there were many obstacles which had to be overcome, and many dangers avoided. In 1873 the monarchist and Bonapartist majority of the National Assembly forced the moderate republican Thiers to resign and elected Marshal Mac-Mahon as President. This meant a constant danger of a monarchist or Bonapartist coup d'état which would have put an end to the progress towards a democratic, parliamentary republic. In these years Gambetta proved to be a master of strategy. When, in 1875, the spokesmen of the moderate wing of the Right drafted proposals for a constitution containing provisions for a Second Chamber and a president at the head of the Executive, this seemed to be unacceptable to the republicans who still clung to the principle of single assembly rule, in accordance with the sacred traditions of 1793. It was at this juncture that Gambetta, in denouncing 'political metaphysics' rallied the reluctant radicals behind the proposals of the moderate Right and established the basis for a democratic parliamentary government. He

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was aware of the fact that the existence of universal suffrage made the new constitution the instrument of democracy, much against the expectations of those monarchists who had supported it. The ensuing election of 1876 brought victory to the republicans, and in 1877 when Marshal Mac-Mahon and the government of the 'Ordre Morale' tried to reverse the trend and dissolved the Chamber, they were finally defeated by the united electoral front of the republicans. It was the opportunist strategy of Gambetta and his friends which helped the republicans to win the vote of the peasantry and that of the middle classes, without losing the support of the petite bourgeoisie and of the workers.

The main merit of the opportunist leaders was that they had grasped and developed the notion of 'timeliness,' so foreign to the rationalist traditions of French republicanism. The idea of 'serialization,' the insight into the necessity for attacking each problem successively, when the time was ripe, was the basic principle of Gambetta's political tactics and doctrine.¹⁴ The breaking up of the programme of 'maximum democracy' into a series of demands enabled the followers of Gambetta and Ferry to lay the foundations of the democratic, parliamentary republic.

The Ideology of the new political Elite.

So much for the intellectual formation and the political evolution of the two leading figures of the opportunist movement. It is now necessary to deal briefly with the views of its 'militants,' grouped as they were in different sections of the organization.

This organization was extremely amorphous and unsystematic. Nevertheless, the Opportunists had their own peculiar system of debate, education, selection of cadres, and propaganda-machine. As a whole the system reflects, in an interesting way, the conditions of a mass democracy in its early stages.

Their parliamentary representatives were grouped into two or three loosely knit factions, modestly called 'Réunions,' which were seldom amenable to party discipline.¹⁵ Meanwhile, the most important basic units of the movement were rooted in the debating societies. These were appropriately called 'Sociétés de Pensée' by Augustin Cochin. Albert Thibauder's term 'Sociétés de libre Pensée' is even more illuminating. These debating societies—at the beginning aristocratic and theoretical, but later on rather more democratic and political—

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first emerged during the eighteenth century and went into action at the outbreak of the French Revolution, educating and organizing the new republican élite which was to replace the old one. Suppressed during the later phases of the Revolution, they re-emerged at the time of the defeat of the Bourbons in 1830, only to be persecuted again. Driven underground, they came to the surface in 1848, but were harrassed by the conservative regime of 1849 and by Napoleon III. There was a certain continuity between these societies, their membership and the ideas they professed. They were inspired by the philosophical tradition of eighteenth century freethought and by the political tradition of 1789 and 1793. These views were combined with the scientific, political and social-reform ideas of the nineteenth century. During times of persecution the republican movement tended to split into two main streams. While some republicans continued their work illegally, others found ways and means, more or less legal, of keeping political circles alive and of organizing propaganda. They met in the editorial offices of the republican journals, in liberal drawing rooms, in scientific societies, as well as in masonic lodges. Several masonic lodges fulfilled a particularly important function during the eighteen sixties, when French masonry, under Bonapartist leadership, enjoyed the protection of the anti-clerical wing of the Imperial regime. It was in this period that the young republicans, infiltrating into the lodges, attempted to win over masonic opinion to Positivism and democratic politics.¹⁶

In the difficult years of opposition the salon of Edmond and Juliette Adam was one of the most important republican meeting places. Edmond Adam was a member of the republican 'general staff' of 1848 and worked for the policy of republican concentration. Originally a deist and a moderate in politics, he became strongly anti-clerical after 1851.¹⁷ The young democrats who frequented this salon were friends of Gambetta, who were his collaborators in the political struggle against the Empire. Most of them were journalists or lawyers with an interest in philosophy, and were strongly influenced by Positivism. When Gambetta became Minister of the Interior in the provisional government of 1870 he gave them key positions in the internal administration of the country. In spring 1871 Gambetta was driven into opposition by the conservative wing of Republicanism. A few months later he organized a new centre of propaganda: the daily paper *La République Française*. And in its editorial offices he

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reunited his political lieutenants. Gambetta divided the editorial work between his collaborators instructing them to study the problems allotted to them in order to prepare themselves for their future ministerial or legislative work.

In spite of the common allegiance to the cause of democratic republicanism, there were wide divergencies in the social and political outlook of the professional politicians who constituted the core of Gambetta's shadow cabinet. Eugene Spuller, the leader of the right wing of this group combined an admiration for Comte with a spiritual world outlook. He attempted to use his influence with Gambetta to counterbalance the militant anti-clericalism of the Left. The leading members of the left wing were Arthur Ranc and Allain-Targe. Ranc, who had started his political career as a follower of Blanqui, was an ardent anti-clerical and urged co-operation with the moderate wing of the Radicals. Allain-Targe was the financial expert of the *République Française* and later Gambetta's Minister of Finance. When in 1882 his social and financial reform schemes were discarded, he sided with the radical opposition. The sceptic philosopher Challemel-Lacour was the most effective propagandist among Gambetta's journalists. He was a radical democrat and a vigilant anti-clerical during the years of struggle, but later he moved towards conservatism.

This group of professional politicians was surrounded by a circle of newcomers: scientists and engineers who had in 1870-71 supported Gambetta's short lived administration. The fact that scientific experts filled leading posts in Gambetta's shadow cabinet and propaganda machinery is very significant and shows the positivist republicans' eagerness to introduce the spirit of science into politics. Among these newcomers to politics Charles de Freycinet played the most important role. An engineer by profession and a brilliant organizer, he was Gambetta's deputy at the head of the Ministry of Defence and assisted him in organizing resistance against the Germans.¹⁸ As a member of Gambetta's shadow cabinet at the *République Française* Freycinet drew up an ambitious plan for the completion of the French railway system and for the building of ports and waterways. This so-called 'Freycinet Plan' aimed at the strengthening of the economic and military structure of France, and at providing work for the unemployed. (Incidentally, it was useful also in winning votes in isolated constituencies). As Minister of Works in the republican governments

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of 1879-80 he succeeded in realizing many of his plans. During his first premiership in 1880, he attempted to reconcile state and church through direct negotiations with the Vatican. This brought him into conflict with Gambetta, and Freycinet had to resign. Nevertheless, he succeeded in returning to office as Prime Minister at the head of various coalitions during the eighteen eighties and nineties. In his scientific writings Freycinet displays a very modern aptitude for reconciling a deterministic concept of the natural sciences with the belief in individual free will. This undogmatic outlook was in harmony with his political versatility.

Paul Bert was the educational expert of the shadow cabinet. A pupil and successor of the great French physiologist, Claude Bernard, he was a militant anti-clerical who specialized in attacking the moral theology of the Jesuits. Gambetta regarded him as a narrow 'sectarian,' but made good use of his talents. Bert played a historical role as president and 'rapporteur' of the educational commission in the Chamber of Deputies, and as such assisted Gambetta and Ferry in the setting up of the new lay educational system.¹⁹ He became a member of the *Conseil Supérieur d'Education* and wrote text-books for the lay schools.

The scientific column of the *République Française* was edited by Marcelin Berthelot. One of the founders of organic chemistry and a convinced democrat, he had developed his own brand of positivist philosophy: he distinguished between 'positive sciences' and 'ideal sciences,' the latter comprising History and the Humanities. His correspondence with his friend Ernest Renan became the gospel of a generation of freethinkers. As Senator and as member of the organizations which controlled French education, he exercised a considerable influence on the men entrusted with the teaching of the growing generation. He never ceased to preach the religion of science, progress and democracy and was regarded as the most prominent representative of this creed; the federation of French Freethought Societies made him their president.²⁰

The multiplicity of the views prevailing among the lieutenants of Gambetta reflected the conflicting interests of the different social groups supporting republicanism. Gambetta and his leader writers appealed to 'le peuple'—the petite bourgeoisie, the artisans, the workers and the peasants—to recognise the identity of their interests and to vote for the Republic. But the intellectual and financial

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strength of the party lay in the support of the professional middle classes and the republican industrialists. Their help enabled the Gambettist press to extend its hold over Paris and the provinces.

Apart from the press, there was a variety of popular organizations which served as links between the general staff and the militant members of the movement. Among these were the republican clubs, the local organizations of 'La Libre Pensée,' the positivist clubs, the masonic lodges and the various educational pressure groups. The 'Ligue de l'Enseignement,' one of the most important among these organizations, was founded during the Empire by a republican school teacher, Jean Macé, who organized libraries and educational centres for the poorer sections of the population. With the help of middle class republicans and certain masonic lodges, Macé's organization grew to be a serious educational and political force.²¹

It is difficult to assess the importance of freemasonry in the electoral successes of the opportunists. Gambetta became a freemason in 1869 and when Littré and Ferry were initiated in 1875, this was interpreted by many as a symptom of the increasing influence of positivist republicanism in the lodges.²² Prominent masons, representatives of the popular clubs, members of the educational pressure groups, as well as the delegates of the republican newspapers, worked together on the electoral committees. The municipal and departmental councillors and 'maires' chosen from their ranks constituted the new political élite of France who were to replace the legitimist nobility and the Orleanist 'haute bourgeoisie,' whose influence waned after the political defeat of the 'ordre Morale.' Gambetta had predicted the emergence of this new political élite as a consequence of universal suffrage, but he cautiously used the term 'new social layers' and vehemently denied the charge of having spoken of 'new social classes.' He always carefully avoided saying anything which would sound like socialism. He also denied that there was a dividing wall between the small bourgeoisie and the workers of France. It was difficult enough to unite the republican groups with carefully constructed formulas, even during the years of struggle; but after the victory the tensions between the different social groups were to prove too strong, and in the end they disrupted the ingenious political structure, upon which Gambetta had hoped to erect a strong parliamentary government.²³

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Achievements and Failures of Positivist Republicanism.

Gambetta and his lieutenants aimed at creating a unified republican movement which would attract the majority of the votes in the country, as well as in Parliament. The political strategy of opportunism, based on the idea of the 'serialization' of reforms served this plan. The political applications of positivist philosophy, by extolling the virtues of scientific progress, democracy and laic education, served (it was hoped) to weaken the hold of the nobility and clergy on the electorate. Gambetta's and Ferry's followers in Parliament were organized in friendly, but rival groups; but at election time they formed a united front, followed the same strategy and proclaimed the same principles. This—a perennial occurrence in French politics—helps to explain the apparent contradiction between the electoral successes of the republicans and the ensuing ministerial instability.

Gambetta and Ferry alike stressed the scientific and positivist character of their political strategy and doctrine. Both claimed to have applied Positivism in politics. It might be thought that what they did was no more than to discover the superiority of empiricism over a policy of abstract principles. But to ask the French republicans of that time to accept a realistic policy of empiricism, without giving them a theory which harmonized with their basic philosophy, would have been futile. The new insight into the methods of the natural sciences and the teachings of positivist philosophy did provide seemingly appropriate justifications for the new political methods. And these, therefore, were accepted by the majority of the republicans and for a time at least, proved strikingly successful. The extreme weakness of the opportunist position, however, began to show, and the unity of the republican camp was threatened, when the opportunist governments had to make decisions regarding the implementation of the traditional republican reform programme. The conversion of the radicals to the policy of moderation in ecclesiastical matters was only skin deep, and the question of social reform widened the gap between the two fractions of Opportunism. Gambetta's death at the end of 1882 and Ferry's banishment from office two years later deprived the opportunists of their two masters of strategy and the golden days of opportunist rule in the Chamber were over.

Among the reforms carried out by the opportunists during their heydays, the setting up of a nation wide system of secular education was of the greatest historical importance. Yet, even in this field the

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limitations of their world outlook became gradually visible. The 'scientific morality' independent of religion and philosophy, as preached by the opportunists, proved inadequate. Already, Jules Ferry himself showed signs of realizing the difficulties of teaching a scientific, positivist morality. When defending his educational policy in Parliament, he claimed that the pupils of the state schools were taught in the traditions of 'good old morality, eternal morality'; not by positivists, but by followers of the idealist school of philosophy. In fact several text books on lay morality were written or inspired by republicans who rejected the traditional theological foundation of morality without accepting the scientific ethics of Positivism. The most prominent among these was Charles Renouvier, the founder of the French neo-Kantian school.²⁴ Another school of non-confessional morality was represented by the so-called 'liberal Protestants,' like F. Pecaut and F. Buisson. Coming from the 'extreme left wing of Protestant theology,' they later became freethinkers whose idealist morality had much in common with the views held by Renouvier. They exercised a more direct influence on the school system for they were the educational and administrative advisers of Jules Ferry, they directed the training of elementary school teachers and supplied them with text books on ethics and civics.²⁵ At the same time leading positivist scientists, led by Berthelot and Bert, planned and organized the courses on natural sciences. The teaching of History and later of Sociology was also strongly influenced by positivist republicanism.

As a result the spirit in the new schools was a blend of Positivism and Idealism. But even this liberal variant of official republican philosophy failed to satisfy the psychic needs of the new generation, as shown by the vogue of socialism, 'integral nationalism' and of neo-Catholicism emerging at the turn of the century.

Whatever the doctrinal and political weakness of the opportunists, their main strength lay in their extraordinary ability to discover the dangers threatening democratic government. They were the first to recognize the threat of a new Caesarism in General Boulanger's rising popularity, and it was they who devised the strategy which destroyed Boulanger's prestige and disrupted the camp of his supporters.²⁶ And when, during the last years of the century, the Dreyfus crisis showed the strength of anti-republicanism in the Army, it were the Gambettaists who roused public opinion, and led the campaign for the rehabilitation of Captain Dreyfus.²⁷ In this one respect they remained

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faithful to themselves; they fought authoritarianism in whatever form it confronted them. They succeeded in outmanoeuvring the Bonapartist forces of the Second Empire, the governments of the 'Ordre Morale' under Marshal Mac-Mahon and the new nationalist and militarist Right during the critical years of the Third Republic.²⁸

The history of the struggles between the supporters of parliamentary democracy and its enemies in nineteenth century France seems to prove that the fundamental views of Littré and his friends on the necessary and natural alliance of democracy and science were justified. The limitations, alas, were that the positivist republicans did not foresee how varied were the roles which scientific ideologies would play in political and social struggles; nor did they recognize the forces, motivations and impulses behind religion or socialism. Their view on man and society could be called scientific only by those who believed that the last word on science had been said by the medical physiologists and biologists of the eighteen sixties, or by such naive pioneers of sociology as Comte or Littré. Yet we, who have witnessed the crippling of the spirit of scientific enquiry by the authoritarian régimes in our century, cannot but recognize the kernel of truth in the basic doctrine of French positivist Republicanism that there is an elective affinity between the spirit of modern science and the democratic form of politics.

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¹ F. A. Hayek: *The Counter-Revolution of Science*. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1952, especially chapter on 'Comte and His Successors,' pp. 168-188 and *passim*.

² P. Janet: *La Crise Philosophique—Taine, Renan, Littré, Vacherot*. Paris: Baillière, 1865. The author, a philosopher of the spiritualist school, noted with satisfaction that positivist philosophy has liberated itself from ridiculous U--pias, as well as from dictatorial politics, and has 'been reduced to its fundamental idea: the generalization of the scientific results of the positive sciences.'

³ E. Littré was elected member of the National Assembly in 1871 on a republican list.—See his '*Philosophie Positive*', 1880. (Contains Littré's articles published between 1870 and 1880). See further E. Littré: *Fragments de Philosophie Positive et de Sociologie Contemporaine*. Paris: Ed. 'Philosophie Positive,' 1876.

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⁴ J. Chastenet, in his recently published book dealing with this period claims that the official ideology of the Third Republic has been strongly influenced by an 'optimistic and democratic positivism.' I feel that this term needs a further clarification and should be compared to the anti-

democratic, yet optimistic positivism, of Comte himself, as well as with the pessimistic positivism of Taine and Renan. Witnessing the Civil War of 1871 these two idols of the positivist generation became deeply pessimistic regarding the blessings of democracy. The Republicans resented Taine's attacks, but continued to accept Renan as the great anti-clerical philosopher, and in the end succeeded to some extent to win his sympathies. See J. Chastenet: *La République des Républicains*. Paris: Hachette, 1954. See further A. Bellesort: *Les Intellectuels et l'Avènement de la Troisième République*. Paris: Grasset, 1931; and J. Darmesteter: *The Life of Ernest Renan*. London: Methuen, 1898.

⁵ D. Mornet: *Les Origines Intellectuelles de la Révolution Française*. Paris: Colin, 1947. See further A. Aulard: *Histoire Politique de la Révolution Française*. Paris: Colin, 1921; and A. Mathiez: *The Fall of Robespierre and other Essays*. London: Harper, 1924. See further P. Hazard: *La Pensée Européenne au XVIII^e Siècle*. Paris: Boivin, 1946. Vol. I and II.

⁶ G. Weill: *Histoire de l'Idée Laïque en France au XIX^e Siècle*. Paris Alcan, 1925.

⁷ G. Weill: *L'Anticléricalisme sous le Second Empire*. *Revue des Etudes Napoléoniennes*. Paris, July-August, 1915, pp. 56-84. On the materialists and atheists in the republican movement, see R. Garaudy: *Les Sources Françaises du Socialisme Scientifique*. Paris: Hier et Aujourd'hui, 1948; and G. D. H. Cole: *Socialist Thought—the Forerunners*. London: Macmillan, 1953, Chapter on Blanqui, pp. 158-167 and on Proudhon, 201-218. On the spread of irreligion among the poorer classes and the recession of Voltairianism among the upper classes and their social and political causes see A. Dansette: *Histoire Religieuse de la France Contemporaine*. Paris: Flammarion, 1951; and G. Le Bras: 'Secteurs et Aspects nouveaux de la Sociologie Religieuse,' *Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie*, Paris, Ed. du Seuil, 1946, Vol. I, pp. 39-66. On the political, social and geographical factors of irreligious attitudes see G. Le Bras: 'Mesure de la Vitalité Sociale du Catholicisme en France.' *Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie*, Paris: Ed. du Seuil, 1950, Vol. VIII, pp. 3-39.

⁸ Regarding Gambetta's philosophical views, as described by a contemporary, see Deluns-Montaud: 'La Philosophie de Gambetta.' *Revue Politique et Parlementaire*, Paris, 1897, Vol. XI, pp. 241-265. See further J. W. Pratt: 'Clemenceau and Gambetta: A Study in Political Philosophy,' *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, Durham, North Carolina, April, 1921, Vol. XX, No. 2, pp. 95-104. The author points out the similarities in the political career of the two statesmen, but fails to analyse the fundamental differences in their philosophical and doctrinal outlook.

⁹ It was P. Deroisin, a collaborator of Littré, who acquainted Ferry with the positivist philosophy. Together with M. Rouilleaux, the economist, who combined a belief in free trade with Comtism, he belonged to the intimate circle of Ferry and Gambetta and was later the leader of the republican organization of the *Seine* Department.

¹⁰ Jules Ferry's speeches were edited by P. Robiquet, see Jules Ferry: *Discours et Opinions*. Paris: Colin, 1893-98, Vol. I-VII. On Ferry's life see A. Rambaud: *Jules Ferry*. Paris: Plon, 1903; M. Reclus: *Jules Ferry*. Paris: Flammarion, 1947; and M. Pottecher: *Jules Ferry*. Paris: Gallimard, 1930.

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¹¹ Gambetta's speeches were edited by J. Reinach, one of his younger collaborators. See L. Gambetta: *Discours et Plaidoyers Politiques*. Paris: Charpentier, 1881. Gambetta's Letters were published in P. B. Gheusi: *Gambetta—Life and Letters*. London: Fisher Unwin, 1910. See further

Emile Pillias et Daniel Halévy (Eds.): *Lettres de Gambetta*. Paris: Grasset, 1938. P. Deschanel: *Gambetta*. Paris: Hachette, 1919, is one of the best biographies on Gambetta, unfortunately, its author occasionally indulges in hero worship and does not give a systematic account of his sources. See also R. Cartier: *Léon Gambetta*. Paris: Gutenberg, 1944.

¹² According to the republican mythology this programme was based on the principles of 1789, but in fact it contained many important elements borrowed from American republicanism and English radicalism—including its name.

¹³ Gambetta argued that ignorance must be defeated, as it makes men 'insensitive to human dignity,' and the 'plaything' of a wicked game, and might lead to 'something even more dangerous,' 'the unexpected explosion of the excited masses which follows blind fury.'

¹⁴ Karl Mannheim draws our attention to the Continental Liberals' preoccupation with norms and their tendency to disregard the realities of the situation. See his *Ideology and Utopia*. London: Kegan Paul, 1940. pp. 199-201.

¹⁵ On the parliamentary fractions of the Third Republic see J. Chastenet: *op. cit.* and his *L'Enfance de la Troisième*. Paris: Hachette, 1952; F. Goguel: *La Politique des Partis sous la III^e République*. Paris: Édition du Seuil, 1946; A. Zévaès: *Histoire de la III^e République*. Paris: Ed. Nouvelle Rev. Critique, 1946 as well as D. W. Brogan's masterly analysis of the political scene: *The Development of Modern France (1870-1939)*. London: Hamilton, 1947. See further G. Hanotaux: *Histoire de la France Contemporaine—1870-1900*. Paris: 1902. Vols. I & II.

¹⁶ A. Thibaudeau: *Les Idées Politiques de la France*. Paris: Stock, 1952. See further A. Thibaudeau: *La République des Professeurs*. Paris: Grasset, 1927, as well as Aulard: *op. cit.* and Mornet: *op. cit.* G. Weill: *Histoire du Parti Républicain en France de 1814 à 1870*. Paris: Alcan, 1900, gives a detailed picture of the filiation of groups and ideas between 1814 and 1870.

¹⁷ On the political role of Edmond and Madame Adam during the critical period of the Republic see F. H. Brabant: *The Beginning of the Third Republic in France*. London: Macmillan, 1940. For a vivid but not always reliable description of republican salons see L. Daudet: *Panorama de la III^e République*. Paris: Gallimard, 1936, pp. 19-25, as well as D. Halévy: *La Fin des Notables*. Paris: Grasset, 1930 and 1937. One of the most influential political salons was that of Charcot, the famous physician and friend of Gambetta.

¹⁸ Freycinet had learned the art of organizing vast technical enterprises when running the railway lines of the Pereire brothers—two pupils of St. Simon, who financed the building of the French communication system under the Empire. On Freycinet's criticism of the makeshift public works' scheme of the government of 1848, see his *Souvenirs, 1848-1878*. Paris: Delagrave, 1912. See further Ch. de Freycinet: *Essais sur la Philosophie des Sciences*. Paris: Gauthier-Villiers, 1900.

¹⁹ P. Bert: *La Morale des Jésuites*. Paris: Charpentier, 1880 (12th edition) as well as P. Bert: *L'Instruction civique à l'Ecole*. Paris: Picard, 1882, and P. Bert: *Discours Parlementaires*. Paris: Charpentier, 1881.

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²⁰ Renan et M. Berthelot: *Correspondance 1847-1892.* Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1898. For Berthelot's reply to Brunetière's attack on the belief in science see *Révue de Paris*, I. Février 1895, reprinted in the collection of his articles: *Science et Morale*. Paris: 1897. See further, Berthelot: 'Le Rôle de la Science dans le Progrès des Sociétés Modernes.' *Révue Scientifique*, Paris: 22 Mai, 1897.

²¹ Jean Macé influenced the voters of the future also through the illustrated press. The key-men of his campaign were P. J. Hetzel and Jules Verne. Hetzel, a republican journalist, was Secretary of the Provisional Government of 1848. After having spent eight years in exile, he founded, together with Jean Macé, the *Magasin d'Education et de Récréation*, an illustrated weekly which popularized science among the young. Hetzel had assured the collaboration of Jules Verne, whose novels—the precursors of modern science fiction—became extremely popular.

²² The solemn initiation of the two champions of laïc education and Positivism in 1875 seemed to prove that the republican and the masonic leaders had reached an agreement according to which Jules Ferry should be entrusted with the task of carrying out the educational reforms. See M. Recus: *op. cit.*, pp. 118-119 and M. J. Hedings: *French Freemasonry under the Third Republic*. Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1949. Hedings' book contains much interesting material, but the author's views on freemasonry as an independent agent seem to distort the picture. For a balanced view on the role of French freemasonry in this period see J. Chastenet's *La République des Républicains*, p. 348, and A. Dansette: *op. cit.*, Vol. II. pp. 69-72.

²³ Gambetta has been often accused of having said that 'there is no social question.' But the truth was different. When speaking about the grievances of labour, in Le Havre in 1873, Gambetta warned the workers that they should not believe in a panacea, 'a single formula which has only to be found to make the world happy. Believe me,' added Gambetta, 'there is no such social remedy, because there is not one social question. There is a series of problems to be solved . . . these problems must be solved one by one and not by a single formula.' In fact Gambetta did have an ambitious programme of social reforms, but it seems that the intrigues of various republican groups and his early death prevented him from implementing it. Jaurès, a penetrating observer of the political scene, believed that after the death of Gambetta Opportunism had degenerated under the leadership of Jules Ferry. Gambetta 'serialized' the reforms in order to solve each problem at the proper time, but when Ferry said, 'the time has not yet come' he implied, said Jaurès, that the time would never come. When pressed by Jaurès to disclose his final aims and general political conceptions, Ferry said: 'My aim is to organize humanity without God and without kings.' 'He stopped at the threshhold of the social question,' concluded Jaurès. See J. Jaurès: *Discours Parlementaires*. Paris: Cornély, 1904. Vol. I. pp. 27-29. On Elections and changes in public opinion in the eighteen seventies see J. Gouault: *Comment la France est devenue Républicaine*. Paris: Colin, 1954.

²⁴ Renouvier claimed that Positivism, essentially deterministic and sensualistic, was incapable of conceiving man as a free and spiritual being, whose actions are governed by his conscience. The positivists, wrote Renouvier, had no 'rational principles' from which to deduce precepts for moral conduct; consequently, their moral notions, such as justice, equality and altruism, were borrowed from the traditional Christian system of ethics. Renouvier wished to liberate democratic thought from the determinism and scientism of its positivist representatives. He claimed to have found an

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ethical basis for democracy in the concepts of free will, personal integrity and resistance to evil. For Renouvier's influence in the lay schools see A. Thibaudet: 'Réflexions.' *Nouvelle Revue Française*. Paris, 1930, Vol. XXXV. pp. 542-554. For D. Halévy's letter on the same subject see *ibid.* pp. 719-720. See further J. Benda: 'Les Idées d'un Républicain,' *Nouvelle Revue Française*, Vol. XXXVI. pp. 23-38 and 215-227. For the differences between the views of the positivists and of Renouvier see G. Ruggiero: *The History of European Liberalism*, London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1927, p. 207.

²⁵ On the educational ideas and theological radicalism of French liberal Protestantism see F. Buisson: *La Foi Laïque*. Paris: Hachette, 1912, as well as his article on Félix Pécaut, in the *Nouveau Dictionnaire de Pédagogie*. Paris: Hachette, 1911. See further F. Pécaut: *Manifeste du Christianisme Libéral*. Neuchâtel, 1869; and F. Buisson et C. Wagner: *Libre Pensée et Protestantisme Libéral*. Paris: Fischbacher, 1903. Edgar Quinet's highly effective writings contained views similar to those of the liberal Protestants. As Minister for Public Education, Ferry referred to Quinet's book: *L'Enseignement du Peuple* as 'mon breviaire.' For Ferry's defence of the teaching of a lay morality in the state schools see J. Ferry: *Discours et Opinions*, Vol. IV. pp. 130-131 and 175-179.

²⁶ Jules Ferry was the master mind behind the opportunist strategy and propaganda in the campaign against Boulanger. Until his death in 1893, Ferry was preoccupied with the danger presented by modern Caesarism. See J. Ferry: *Discours et Opinions*, Vol. VII. pp. 71-173.

²⁷ It was Scheurer Kestner, a friend and follower of Gambetta, who, as Vice-President of the Senate, started the campaign for the defence of Dreyfus. He was the head of a family of Protestant republican industrialists, and had financed the Gambettist press. He was supported—as Ferry before him—at an early date by Reinach and Ranc—leaders of the opportunist press.

²⁸ An interesting document showing the views of the Gambettists on the technique and traditions of authoritarian government in nineteenth century France, can be found in the series of anonymous articles on *Bonapartism*, published in the *République Française* between the 15th and the 20th of January, 1873.—It was a principle at the *République Française* to publish only anonymous articles. For articles signed by the Gambettist leaders see the daily paper *Le Voltaire*, founded in 1878 by the republican industrialist Menier. It contains many articles by Bert and Ranc dealing with problems of science, democracy, church and education, and supporting the basic theses of opportunist politics.

THE POLITICAL POWER OF PRIVATE CAPITAL

PART I.

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I.

Many people have noticed that private economic enterprises take decisions that make or mar the happiness and the destinies of their employees and of many others who depend directly or indirectly upon them: the fate of the people of Jarrow is a case in point. Also, that such private economic decisions may conflict with the overt desires of a large section, even a majority of the population. On the strength of these and similar observations, it has been argued that such private decisions are incompatible with a democracy since 'it is not the electorate but the owners of industrial property who . . . determine the economic policies of the country'.¹

This argument leads to the assertion that to be fully or more fully democratic, electorates must assume control of private enconomic enterprises or a major part of them. The argument with which we shall deal, however, is quite a different one. It says that a peaceful transition to this stage of affairs can or will be rendered difficult, nugatory, or even impossible by the 'political power' which private capital wields. The first argument provides a reason for harnessing or regulating formerly private decisions: the view with which we are dealing concerns the ways and means by which private capital defends itself from being harnessed and regulated.

II.

In the 1930's, Laski, Cripps, Strachey, E. F. Wise and others went so far as to doubt whether private industry would ever acquiesce peacefully in its abolition or regulation. '*Can socialism come by constitutional methods?*' asked Sir Stafford Cripps in 1933. 'The ruling class,' he said, 'will go to almost any length to defeat Parliamentary action if the issue is the direct issue as to the continuance of their financial and political control.' Laski roundly declared

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that 'owners of property now, as in an earlier day, are prepared rather to fight for their legal privileges than to give way.'⁹ Unfortunately, no definition was given of this 'political and financial control,' or of these 'privileges' which would provoke such ferocious resistance. (Otherwise the peaceful experiences of 1945-51 would provide a convincing refutation.) But it was made plain that among the methods of opposition must be counted 'sabotage and resistance,'¹⁰ the provocation of industrial unrest, the 'abrogation of the democratic process,' the seduction of the police and armed forces,¹¹ 'financial and political sabotage of the most thorough and ingenious kind,'¹² a 'panic flight from the pound' and a similarly 'panic run on the banks.'¹³

This theory is no longer fashionable. Yet there is still much talk of 'the political power that great monopolies wield':¹⁴ of 'economic pressure and political blackmail':¹⁵ of 'sabotage';¹⁶ and there is still the bald assertion that 'the control of political power in a State lies to a large extent in the hands of those who control economic power'.¹⁷ These scattered shreds, spars, and flotsam of argument suggest that if the vessel be out of sight it is not out of mind. It is sunk but a little way below the waves and may at any time be dredged up and refloated.

What is this 'sabotage,' 'resistance,' and 'blackmail?' Who uses these weapons? How do they do so? And what, in the light of past experience in this country, can they be expected to achieve?

There appears to be no single text where the political potentialities of private capital are listed.¹⁸ This makes an exploration of the notion of its political power somewhat laborious. The best way to begin seems to be to establish on the most extended definition a list of all conceivable advantages which private businessmen might possess for influencing political action; and then, under each heading, all the uses to which they might feasibly put these advantages. In the abstract, then, the principal political advantages of private capital seem to be five.

I. Organization.

In most industrialized countries today, private businessmen are highly concentrated, both industrially (by combination, holding company, and price-associations) and organizationally, in trade

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associations of all kinds. Furthermore, they operate behind closed doors so that their 'invisibility' is also a source of advantage.

1. The concentration of ownership and/or control of business enterprise is a familiar indictment. For example, in the U.S.A., in 1935, out of the 200 largest non-financial and the 50 largest financial corporations, it was found that 151 companies were interlocked with at least three others in the group.¹³ Similarly it is reckoned that the profits of 50 large industrial concerns in Britain accounted in 1950 for about one-third of all industrial profits; of these 50 companies, 33 were connected, by directorships, with eight major banks.¹⁴

2. Furthermore, *business enterprises form a vast nexus*. Producers consume each others' products. Both rely on distributors, and on the common services of banking and insurance houses, transport contractors, builders and the like. Contracting and sub-contracting carries this nexus through differing social strata, down to barrow-boy and owner-driver where it is hard to say where 'capital' and 'labour' end or begin.

This interconnectedness is a source of self-division as well as of solidarity. In Britain, for instance, throughout the interwar period railways sought to suppress road transport, coastwise shipping to curtail rail competition, while tramp-owner fought tramp-owner and haulier haulier. And, throughout, the great transport users watched exactingly to prevent any combination or price-ring.

On the other hand in certain situations, e.g. the threat of nationalization, the inter-connectedness is a source of solidarity; for dislocation in one industry ramifies through the whole. All productive industry and all traders rallied to the road hauliers' defence when their nationalization was threatened. The Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders feared disturbance to their market: the Chambers of Commerce, the N.U.M., the F.B.I., depended on hauliers' services to keep down the costs of railway transport.

Indeed the F.B.I., in its protest against the Labour Party's nationalization proposals laid its greatest stress on the disturbances they would create. The nationalization of iron and steel 'would gravely endanger the smooth and effective restoration of the steel-using industries.' Nationalization of road haulage would cramp the flexibility and efficiency of a service 'closely integrated with productive industry.' The acquisition of undertakings ancillary to the industries of coal, steel, railways and the like (e.g. railway docks,

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hotels, etc.) would create special difficulties in the twilight zones where private firms and Government ones would compete.¹⁵

3. *Businessmen are strongly organized in special interest groups.* In England, for instance, apart from some 2,500 trade associations of which about one half are manufacturers' associations, there are the 'peak organizations' represented by the F.B.I., the N.U.M., and the Association of British Chambers of Commerce. It is impossible to say precisely how many firms are represented by these three bodies, as their membership overlaps considerably; but the F.B.I. alone, through individual and association-membership, provides a forum for some four-fifths of all those manufacturing enterprises in Britain which employ more than eleven workmen. The A.B.C.C., apart from its manufacturer members (who are mostly members of the N.U.M. or F.B.I. also), represents some 25,000 merchants, shippers and agents. It would be rare to find a large firm of any description, save for retailers (who have their own organizations) that is not represented by one or other of these three 'peak' associations. In the U.S.A. the Chamber of Commerce of the U.S., and the National Association of Manufacturers play a like role, and have a similar coverage.¹⁶

II. Riches.

Mobilized and concentrated in this way, business can dispose, immediately, of large sums of money. As a group it tends to be considerably wealthier than other interest groups; it can produce the money much more quickly than they can, and can spend it for a longer period.

Apart from the social esteem with which wealth invests its possessors, it appears to open to them the following political opportunities.

1. *To pay for propaganda:* for example, to own newspapers; to pay for articles, television and radio programmes; and to finance public campaigns. The Congressional Hearings, in 1934-5, on the Lobbying Activities of the Public Utilities, as well as the subsequent Select Committee on Lobbying Activities of 1950¹⁷ provide pages of examples of money lavishly bestowed on this object in the U.S.A.¹⁸

2. *To subscribe funds to political parties:* as for instance the Ruhr industrialists at Goering's house in 1932 put up a purse for the Nazi Party,¹⁹ as Ruhr industrialists largely endow the F.D.P. today, and as British businessmen subscribe, as individuals, to the

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Conservative Party.

3. *To bribe legislators and officials:* the Stavisky affair;²⁰ the unsavoury scandals in the U.S.A. Reconstruction Finance Corporation in 1951;²¹ the connexions between organized crime and public bodies uncovered by the Kefauver Committee at the same time;²² the Wilma Montesi affair in Italy; these may serve as the milder illustrations. For there are still countries and parts of countries where the mass purchase of legislative votes or official favour is a recognized mode of conducting business; as for example the Anaconda Copper Company's long domination of Montana politics, or United Fruit Company's control of Costa Rica and Honduras.²³

4. *To buy protection:* The pre-war U.S. saw company agents sworn in as deputy policemen; firms which employed their own 'coal and iron police' against strikers; private detectives, strikeguards, 'missionaries' and the like, employed as private forces by employers.²⁴ In a similar category falls the financing of political militias like the Italian *fasci di combattimenti* in 1922, and the French 'ligues' in 1934-6.

III. Access.

In most old-established industrial states, close connexions exist between those in authority and private businessmen. Between them and legislators, civil servants, judges and often the officers of the armed forces, there are many ties of family, acquaintanceship and inter-change. This offers three political opportunities to businessmen.

1. *Access to governing circles.* Businessmen can be guided quickly to the centre of decision making: find it possible to put their case informally and *ad hominem*, which is often the most effective way; and since they are either personally known to, or 'vouched for' before the governing circles, tend to be trusted more than outsiders.

2. *This connexion between ruling circles and businessmen* which may be very close indeed in some countries at certain times, also permits of businessmen bringing moral pressure to bear on their friends 'inside,' whenever an unpopular policy is being followed. This could lead to situations like the Curragh 'mutiny,' where officers resigned their commission rather than carry out the Government's policy.²⁵

3. *More important than both perhaps is that intangible but very real link, a common ideology:* common outlook, manners, conventions, pre-suppositions. There is a spiritual *rapport* even before

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contact is made on a particular issue. Unfortunately, researches have only begun to explore this field; but of its general importance in this context there can be no doubt.²⁶

IV. Patronage.

We call businessmen employers and managers without any longer realising what these words signify: the German equivalent '*arbeitgeber*' conveys more of the matter for it literally means the 'work-giver.' By virtue of giving work, the employer gives livelihood; and by the obverse, the withdrawal of 'work' he sanctions his right to manage. The present period of full employment in this country should not blind us to the fact that for centuries, the giving and withholding of 'work' has seized businessmen of a vast advantage over their employees who thereby have become largely their dependents and clients. Hence our expression *patronage* which is chosen to express the dependency of numerous families upon businessmen's private decisions. This patronage opens to them two great political possibilities:-

1. *The intimidation of individual workpeople or their dependents* for expressing views which, freely permitted by the laws, nevertheless incur the displeasure of the patron. It must be remembered that in times of unemployment, to deprive a man of his job is to deprive him, his wife and his children of food and shelter. This is a fearsome penalty to exact. To blacklist him and deprive him of a livelihood *permanently*, surpasses nearly all the penalties which the State ever inflicts.²⁷

2. Similarly, *dominance in the conduct of the firm or industry*, i.e., control over the pay, hours and conditions of work, which, in their turn determine the pattern and figure on which the workpeople live out their lives. In the last resort this dominance is based on the employers' right to 'lock-out' his employees. Thus in 1926 the coal owners locked-out the miners. They proposed thereby to force these to accept reductions which, in South Wales would reduce wages from 78s. to 46s. a week, and in Durham by 18s. per week.²⁸

But the same end can also be achieved by II(4) above, plus II(1) and IV(1), i.e. by private armies, propaganda and individual intimidation. 'In *Matter of Remington Rand*, large numbers of professional strike-breakers and operatives, known as 'missionaries,' 'nobles' and 'undercover' men, were hired by the company . . . They jostled pickets and terrorized striking employees. In *Matter of Sunshine*

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Mining Company supervisors fostered the formation of two strike-breaking organizations, the "Vigilantes" and the "Committee of 356" . . . A mass demonstration was arranged by these organizations against the strikers and handbills were distributed saying—"Vigilantes are ready to take care of any radical organizers . . . ropes are ready." Confronted by this situation the pickets disbanded before the demonstration was held.²⁹.

V. Surrogateship.

Even in a highly regulated economy, like Great Britain's during the War, private business has a wide discretion in carrying out work which is in fact, all of it, 'affected with the public interest.' Nor is the economic health of the community much less 'affected with the public interest' in peacetime, when regulation is relaxed, and in some economies, minimal. The fact that the businessman's work, although conducted as his private enterprise is nevertheless something which affects all members of the community (it is in fact a very highly decentralized form of public administration)³⁰ permits us to express its relationship to government as that of a surrogate, a deputy. Such surrogateship confers on private industry two important possibilities:

1. The thwarting of Government's policy by *deliberately slowing down activities Government wants to foster, or speeding up processes Government is trying to discourage*, in order to discredit authority and create distress and unrest. This is to pursue a *politique de pire*. Banks have often been offenders: thus the *Banque de France*, in 1935, refused to discount Government bills; moreover, in May 1935, during the financial panic, it failed to raise bank rate: and by these means it effectively forced the Premier, M. Flandin, to abandon his chosen policy and to return to one of deflation.³¹

2. The thwarting of Government policy by *refusing the Government the expert, scientific and technical advice on which it relies*, on which it tends to predicate its own administrative structure and practices and thereby its commercial and industrial policies.

Appraisal.

This list adds up to something formidable. Imagine, first, the combined use of all these possibilities in an assault upon an unpopular government. The solidarity and staying power of capital is assured by its economic and organizational concentration; and it

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thereby conducts its operations in the dark. It instigates public campaigns against the Government's 'mismanagement'; and through its newspapers and inspired articles it promotes scares, in banner headlines. It increases its financial support of the Opposition parties in anticipation of the election it proposes to force. It persuades its inside sympathisers to 'go slow' on Government policy, and receives inside information from them. Meanwhile it precipitates the very conditions for which, through its propaganda, it blames the Government: it locks out its workers, bringing production and distribution to a halt, it causes panics in the banks and money market, and suppresses the denunciations of government supporters by its strong-arm men and private militias.

Or, perhaps, slow siege is preferred to sudden storm. Here the attack is played out in slow motion. The picture that results from this is more prosaic and more credible than that of sudden assault. Newspapers, films, radio programmes, public meetings quietly, cunningly, and constantly create the atmosphere of disillusion, of apathy, of disappointment. The opposition parties use their now swollen political funds to improve their organization, and increase their propaganda. The Government, while no industry openly defies it, finds its wishes met with procrastination; difficulties appear at every corner: industrial relations suffer, production and employment flags; and at last, both Government and people are wearied out and weary of one another. At the election, it becomes clear that the citadel has been taken from within—the political parties supported by the businessmen find their victory almost unopposed.

The first picture, with its hysteria and storm troops and cataclysm looks like Weimar on the eve of Nazidom. The second is the picture of Britain 1946-51 as some leftwing and Communist publicists conceive it.²² But the similarity must not mislead us into concluding that because the composite picture of private capital's political potentialities looks like a real situation, it is therefore the explanation of how this real situation came about. At best it is only a hypothesis. To prove it we should have to have evidence that private capital did in fact use all these possibilities open to it: this is precisely what we shall have to examine in the instance of Britain.

And indeed there are *prima facie* reasons for rejecting this hypothesis right away. For one must notice how our list of advantages and attendant political possibilities has been established. We have, as we warned, taken the most imaginative and extended view of these

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possibilities: and we have therefore brought together, in one aggregate (a) Possibilities, not probabilities.

(b) The experience of a whole range of different countries, not one country.

(c) The experience of different times and circumstances.

The list looks formidable because it has been *conflated*. It must therefore be re-examined.

III.

Our purpose is to explore, in respect to contemporary Britain, in what the political power of private capital consists and by what means it is exercised. In short, which items on our list are used in this country, and to what extent are they effectual in the political process?

1. Now, first of all, our list merely records abstract possibilities. It does not record capital's *effective* capacity to act. And the two are not the same. It is possible, beyond doubt for businessmen to pay bribes to legislators and officials. In this country people do not behave like that. It is possible to corrupt an elector; but the electorate is now so large that it is not worth the trouble and the risk involved. What may or can conceivably happen is not the same as something likely to happen. And in this way if we identify bare possibilities with effective capacity, we in effect assume the very thing we are trying to prove—that the power of government is ineffective to curtail or abrogate the political potentialities of private capital.

2. Nearly every heading in the list is supported by an example. It would have been very easy to have multiplied these. But these examples have been deliberately drawn from a variety of countries; had they been drawn solely from English experience, they would have been very restricted. Now the fact that a particular possibility has been used by businessmen in, say, the U.S.A. or Germany, merely proves that it is a real possibility for the purposes of our list. It by no means proves that it is an effective possibility for a British businessman. The seduction of civil servants and even legislators by bribes, gifts and favours is still common in the U.S.A., so common as to lead to a proposal to establish a Commission on Ethics in Government.³³ But in Britain while the Stanley Case showed the matter to be possible, the public reaction to this case, and the subsequent report of the *Select Committee on Intermediaries* showed

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it to be so highly unusual, and so shocking, that it can be ruled out as an effective possibility for British private capital. And so must the financing of private political militias, and bribery of electors, and so forth.

Our enquiry, it must be stressed again, is to try to find evidence for these possibilities having been utilized here in the last generation, and on that basis to assess the likelihood of their being used, given similar circumstances, in the near future. In such an enquiry foreign experiences are quite inadmissible: they pre-suppose that the counter-power of government is the same in all countries. This is ridiculous. To suppose that because, for instance, the U.S. government has failed to stamp out the seduction and corruption of some of its servants by the emissaries of private capital the British Government is *ipso facto* equally powerless to do so would be mockingly rejected by everybody. Yet this is precisely what the admission of foreign experience in this context would commit us. Suppose Panama is strong in preventing everything but bribery, Venezuela everything but private armies, Uruguay everything but bankers' pressure, etc., etc. Suppose this to be the case. It will not follow that in all three countries, private capital is capable of bribery, private armies and financial pressure. Indeed, by the very terms of our statement, this is ruled out.³⁴

This fallacy of method is often used by writers on both the Left and the Right. Thus, a Labour Party pamphlet called *Monopoly* says 'Finally there is the political power that great monopolies wield. In the Fascist countries the alliance of monopoly capitalism with political reaction was notorious and open. In the democracies it is less blatant. But there can be no doubt that it is the Right Wing Parties which they support.' Similarly, a trade unionist can say that unless and until steel and iron were nationalized 'the Government is open to economic pressure and political blackmail by the iron and steel monopoly interests which have always been the hard core behind capitalist reaction. It was the steel monopoly of Germany that backed Hitler and placed the Nazis in power. The fall of the Labour Government in 1931 was largely brought about by the co-operation of British capitalist monopoly and Wall Street.'³⁵ Similarly, at Chapter XIII of his *National Capitalism*, which is entitled 'Capitalist Sabotage of Labour Governments,' Ernest Davies lists experiences in France, U.S.A. and New Zealand, before coming to 'sabotage possibilities facing next Labour Government.' But this trick

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and failing is not confined to the Left. It was the method by which W. H. Lecky in his *Democracy and Liberty* sought to prove that the inevitable concomitants of Democracy, as such, were public extravagance, electoral and administrative corruption, and the pillage of the rich. It is, in part, the method by which F. A. Hayek has persuaded tens of thousands that the growth of government regulation of industry in Britain corresponded to a similar phase in Germany which had led to Nazism, and that *therefore* this must be its inevitable consequence to Britain also.²⁶

3. Nor is this all. Two out of the five 'advantages' are exceedingly *mutable*. These 'advantages' are nos. IV and V, Patronage and Surrogateship. (It will be noticed that these are the ones that carry with them the possibility of bringing to bear on government indirect and invisible economic pressure as against the political and overt activities of No. II, Wealth.) And the circumstances by which Patronage and Surrogateship may be altered are, respectively, the state of the employment market, and the degree of state regulation.

(a) The power to intimidate individual workpeople, and likewise an effective dictatorship over the management process are not fixed and permanent conditions. They depend on labour's bargaining power. In the depressed 'twenties and 'thirties, the unions were weak, while in many industries, e.g. coal, the market was so poor that temporary stoppages of production caused little hardship to the owners. That condition has not existed in Britain for some fifteen years. The change in the employers' patronage power has been starkly brought home in recent strikes in B.E.A.C. and (at the time of writing) in Rolls Royce.²⁷

Full employment has similarly qualified the employers' dominance in the conduct of industry. This is recognized by responsible Trade Unionists. 'In the old days we had in many industries and occupations no strength at all. So different is the scene we survey today. We are stronger than ever. We are participants, on almost equal terms, in industry; we influence and initiate policy: we are consulted and respected by governments: we have access to all ministries, municipalities and national institutions.'²⁸

(b) Likewise does the surrogateship of private businessmen alter with altered conditions. Paradoxically, it alters with the very conditions which this surrogate power is supposed to be able to prevent, viz. the restrictive and regulatory activities of government. The extent of business independence is not fixed. The assumption

that it is so depends on a notion of private property which is tautologous: viz. that 'private' property is unabridgeably private, for otherwise it ceases to be 'private property.' This view was thrown over by the very T.U.C. itself as early as 1932. 'According to traditional notions,' runs the report of its Economic Committee, 'control was automatically vested in the owners of property. Most people would say that a person owns property when he is able to do what he wishes with it, i.e. completely controls it. In this strict sense of the term, however, there is hardly such a thing as complete private control in industry at the present day. The owners of industrial capital have not for a very long time been able to do whatever they pleased with their own property. They have been limited in some respects by legislation such as Factory Acts, etc. and by all kinds of regulations made in the interests of the community.'³⁹ The war and the period of control that has followed it and which largely continues, has still further circumscribed the surrogateship of private capital and the political potentialities which flow from it.

4. Finally, the list does not distinguish between constitutional and unconstitutional activities: nor, it may be said, do many of the theorists who urge the need to restrict the political power of private capital. Thus H. J. Laski, could write in 1935: 'In the choice between peaceful transformation and the maintenance of privilege at the cost of conflict, the owners of property now, as in an earlier day, are prepared *rather to fight for their legal privileges than to give way*. *That attitude is shown* not merely by the barbaric overthrow of democratic institutions in Fascist countries. *It is shown even more clearly (sic) by the resistance to social reform in the United States and Great Britain.*'⁴⁰ Here the line between the perfectly constitutional (however reprehensible) actions of the British property owners and 'conflict' and 'fighting,' is completely obliterated; while the author also succeeds in giving the impression (which he certainly did not mean) that in Britain the 'fighting' and 'conflict' was sharper even than in Nazi Germany.

This confusion between constitutional and non-constitutional behaviour is not entirely accidental. To someone who loathes private capital and all its works it may appear of little moment *how* it maintains its power: the loathesome thing is that it does so. It was on these grounds that Lenin and his whole line of followers have lumped into one category all 'bourgeois' countries whether they be

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democracies, or dictatorships, liberal or totalitarian.¹¹ But the distinction between constitutional and non-constitutional practices does make a great deal of difference to the 'catastrophe' argument already cited, and to our entire conception of the nature of private capital's power. If it can be shown, for instance, that in Britain the means used to sustain its position in society have been exclusively constitutional, and that it has, constitutionally, accepted adverse and limiting decisions, the case for the catastrophe theory is seriously weakened. And similarly, our definition of private capital's political power will be significantly altered: for, in the quotations cited above it is tacitly assumed that this consists, not only of constitutional means, but of invisible 'sabotage,' 'resistance' and the like, which hits below the belt.

In fact, the failure to differentiate between constitutional and unconstitutional means, where this is deliberate and not simply confused, depends on two presuppositions. One, an ethical judgment is open to the reader to adopt or reject as he pleases; the other itself depends on that same assumption about the powerlessness of government which we have already had occasion to notice and which assumes the very argument it tries to prove, viz. that opposed by capital the State is powerless.

The first presupposition is the ethical judgment that 'big business' is a vested interest, and a sectional interest, and so, *ex hypothesi*, in opposition to the public good. So indeed it may be, and so in so far as it is a sectional interest, it is almost always likely to be. But our reaction to this view is part of our private understanding of democracy. It is possible to take the view that, since it is legally tolerated, it has as much right to put its views forward as any other section of the community. It is true, of course, that businessmen's associations do not preach the doctrines of social democracy. But neither do trade unions speak the language of private enterprise. The road hauliers have never pressed the claims of the railways to greater traffic, and the railways have never once agreed to abdicate to road haulage. What does one expect special interest groups to do but defend their members' special interests? What are they constituted for if not that? If they are permitted to form freely they have a right to express their views in a constitutional fashion: and the assumption is that they enjoy this right for the purpose of converting a majority to their side.

The second presupposition is in part an answer to this argument.

S. E. Finer

'These are wealthy people, with an advantage over us, poor as we are,' this argument runs. 'It is true that they are few but their wealth makes up for that, for they can, even by constitutional methods get a majority on their side. So that'—and this is where the second presupposition begins '*we are ruled by a small minority who are self appointed and responsible to nobody but themselves.*' The answer to this set of pleas is, surely, clear enough. First the fact, if it is a fact, that this minority gets a majority on its side by constitutional means is a very poor reason for believing that it is impossible for them ever to lose it by constitutional means: and an even worse reason, many might think, for wishing to deny them their democratic rights. Secondly, while it is certainly true that they are, unlike the Boards of nationalized industries, self appointed, it is not necessarily true that they are responsible to nobody but themselves. To say that they are is to assume, once again, that they cannot be controlled and regulated in the public interest by public bodies.

Conclusion.

There is in short no political power of private capital as such. There is the political power of British businessmen, during a particular period and in particular circumstances: and likewise of American businessmen, German, French, Latin American and so forth. All we have been able to do so far is to see what the term may possibly imply, and then to show that in certain places, time and circumstances, it implies something less than the abstract possibilities. If we want to know what it has implied in Britain over the last thirty years, the only way to find out is to look.

In the second and longer part of this article, which will appear in the next issue of 'The Sociological Review,' the author examines in detail the way in which trade associations and other organizations of private capital have, in the last thirty years, influenced the policy of successive governments in Great Britain.

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¹ Sir Stafford Cripps, speaking to the Iron and Steel Bill: *Hansard*, 16 Nov., 1948, col. 326.

² *Problems of a Socialist Government*, Gollancz, 1933, p. 38.

³ H. J. Laski: *The State in Theory and Practice*, 1935, pp. 274-5.

⁴ *Ibid* pp. 274-5.

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⁵ *Ibid* pp. 282, 283.

⁶ Cripps: *op. cit.* p. 38.

⁷ E. F. Wise: *Problems of a Socialist Government: Control of Finance and the Financiers*, p. 71, 75.

⁸ *Monopoly*, Labour Party, pp. 16-17.

⁹ J. Gardner: *T.U. Congress Report* 1947, p. 529.

¹⁰ *T.U. Congress Report* 1948, p. 424.

¹¹ V. L. Allen: *Power in Trade Unions*, p. 7.

¹² It is very strange that Marxist and Socialist literature should not have made the attempt. The best discussion of the concept, of industry's political power and its advantages *vis à vis* Government is to be found in Donald Blaiddell's well known Monograph No. 26 of the T.N.E.C.: *Economic Power and Political Pressures*, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1941, pp. 1-10. But the listing here is seriously incomplete. Compare with our list, similar lists in the following. S. Webb: 'What happened in 1931,' *Political Quarterly III*, 1932, p. 15-16. E. Staley: 'How Investors influence their Governments, War and the Private Investor', pp. 204-235. W. J. M. McKenzie: 'Pressure Groups in British Government,' *British Journal of Sociology* 1955 (Vol. VI, No. 2) pp. 141-145.

¹³ *Economic Power and Political Pressures*, p. 18.

¹⁴ S. Aaronovitch: *Monopoly*, pp. 44 and 56.

¹⁵ The Federation of British Industries: *Statement on Policy*. 20 Feb. 1946.

¹⁶ Literature on British Trade Associations is scanty. Cf. P.E.P. Broadcasts, No. 240 Oct., 1945, 'Trade Associations and Government'; for the rest one must rely on the publications and Annual Reports of the various bodies. A paper by myself, on the F.B.I. will appear in *Political Studies* for February, 1955. For the U.S.A., among a variety of works, TNEC Monograph No. 26 already cited; D. Truman: *The Governmental Process; Key: Parties, Politics and Pressure Groups*, are helpful.

¹⁷ Hearings: *House Select Committee on Lobbying Activities*: 81st Congress, 1950.

¹⁸ Utility Corporations: *Report of the Federal Trade Commission*, No. 81A, 1935, 'Publicity and propaganda activities by utility groups and companies.'

¹⁹ *Nuremberg Trials*, (H.M.S.O.) Vol. 13, p. 36.

²⁰ A. Werth: *France in Ferment*, pp. 47-49.

²¹ P. Douglas: *Ethics in Government*, 1952. Hearings: *Establishment of a Commission on Ethics in Government*, 82nd Congress, 1951.

²² E. Kefauver: *Crime in America*, 1952.

²³ J. Gunther: *Inside America*, pp. 166-74; C. D. Kepner and J. H. Soothill: *The Banana Empire*, esp. Chapter VIII.

²⁴ Raushenbush & Stein: *Labour Cases and Materials*, 1941, pp. 32-35. See Upton Sinclair: *Little Steel* for a description of the methods employed. The Republican Steel Corporation, said an official report on the famous strike in 1937, 'has a uniformed police force of nearly 400 men,' equipped with tear gas, revolvers, rifles and shot guns.

²⁵ This is put in by way of analogy, not an example. The Curragh Mutiny was not motivated by businessmen's antipathy to Irish Home Rule.

²⁶ See Eysenck: *The Psychology of Politics*; Kelsall: *The Higher Civil Servants in Britain*; E. Barker: *Traditions of Civility*.

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²⁷ Publicists like Hayek who stress the dependence of private liberties on private ownership really ought to ponder Locke's *Essay*. Locke shows that secure possession of life itself turns on secure possession of one's liberty: and that this in turn depends on security of livelihood, or 'property.' The property of a workman is simply his capacity to work. Deprived of this he is deprived of the means of subsistence, and, if Locke be followed, of his liberty too.

²⁸ C. L. Mowatt: *Britain Between the Wars*, p. 301.

²⁹ National Labour Relations Board, *Annual Report* 1938, pp. 54-5, quoted in Key: *op. cit.*, p. 632. And see Raushenbush and Stein: *op. cit.*, pp. 5-99, for other examples.

³⁰ See below, the T.U.C.'s view of the gradual circumscription of the 'private' element in 'private property.' This view of private enterprises as 'private' only on sufferance by the rest of the community, and with national duties not simply vested private rights, marks a reaction from extreme views on property held in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It is very much a return to feudal notions, and a reversion from contract back to status. The changing notion of private property can of course be followed in the writings of our great political philosophers, Hobbes contrasting strongly with Locke, Locke with Hume; and Burke putting the privacy notion in full rigour. But a detailed study of this changing conception is beyond this paper.

³¹ A. Werth: *The Destiny of France*, p. 344.

³² E.g., John Gollan: *The British Political System*, pp. 86-89. S. Aaronovitch: *Monopoly*, pp. 120-123; 125-234.

³³ Establishment of a Commission on Ethics in Government: *Hearings*. 82nd Congress, 1st Session 1951.

³⁴ The first demonstration of this fallacy that I know of, is in Bentham's *'Fragment on Government'* (in his celebrated theorem 'The British Government in all-perfect.') Blackwell edition, p. 80.

³⁵ J. Gardner (Amalgamated Society Foundry Workers): *T.U. Congress Report* 1947, p. 529.

³⁶ I have adverted to the Lecky example in my *Metodo, Ambito e fine dello studio comparativo dei sistemi politici*, (STUDI POLITICI, III (1)) p. 33-34. For Hayek see his statement at pp. 1-3 where he draws the parallel first, and Chap. XIII 'The totalitarians in our midst,' pp. 135 et seq for its working out. But in fairness one ought to note, at p. 3 the statement 'all parallels between developments in different countries are of course deceptive; but I am not basing my argument mainly on such parallels.' All the same he devotes Chapters XII and XIII to them. My brother, Herman Finer, has convincingly shown how inapt the parallels are. See his *Road to Reaction*, Chap. VI, "Dictatorship" means Dictatorship.'

³⁷ *The Times*, Dec. 18 et seq. 1953.

³⁸ T. O'Brien, President: Address to T.U. Congress, 1953.

³⁹ T.U.C. *Report* 1932, p. 212.

⁴⁰ *The State in Theory and Practice*, 1935, p. 274-5 (My italics).

⁴¹ Lenin: *Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 648 He also lumps together violent and non-violent methods. 'In every country the bourgeoisie inevitably works out two systems of rule, two methods of fighting for its interests and retaining its rule, and these methods at times succeed each other and at times are interwoven with each other in various combinations. They are firstly the method of force . . . The second method is the method of "liberalism" which takes steps towards the development of political rights, towards reforms, concessions and so forth' (*Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 741).

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The Arbitration of Wages by Irving Bernstein.
Pp. x + 125. University of California Press, California
(London: Cambridge University Press), 1954. 26s.

The Social Foundations of Wage Policy by Barbara
Wootton. Pp. 200. George Allen & Unwin Ltd.,
London, 1955. 15s.

These two books can be read together with great advantage though they are in most respects very different. Mr. Bernstein's is concerned with arbitration as a method of settling industrial disputes. He holds no brief for or against arbitration with the result that he succeeds in producing probably the best straightforward description of the essential nature of industrial arbitration yet published. The only conclusion that one can possibly draw from Mr. Bernstein's description is—in my experience unquestionably the right one—that arbitrators are not judges interpreting, administering or establishing principles. They are conciliators or, if you like, mere opportunists.

Mr. Bernstein quotes frequently from the public statements of arbitrators revealing their inability to justify arbitration awards, except as a compromise acceptable to the conflicting parties or as a practical if temporary solution to an immediate and practical problem. 'The best umpire is one who knows just how far to go and how far not to go.' How he knows is a question that defies detailed analysis. In short, arbitration is an art and not a science.

Mrs. Wootton's book carries on from where Mr. Bernstein's ends. She is concerned to show that wage-fixing generally—not merely arbitration—is a haphazard business, and to argue forcefully that wage-fixing ought and could be a great deal less haphazard.

If I understand Mrs. Wootton aright, it is her firm belief that our present methods of wage determination are deficient both socially and economically, socially because they have not contributed towards a greater equality and, indeed, inevitably hinder progress towards equality. Mrs. Wootton could understand, if she could not excuse, this feature of our methods of wage determination if the inequalities perpetuated were justifiable on economic grounds. But

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they are not. On the contrary this determination to preserve existing inequalities or 'differentials' which Mrs. Wootton sees as a feature of our wage-fixing methods produces, with full employment, 'the familiar picture of continuous and cumulative inflation as one claim follows another in regular succession.'

Mrs. Wootton therefore plumps heavily for a rational wages policy. Very briefly what Mrs. Wootton wants is some attempt at central control or at least influence over wage movements based upon considerations of national policy.

It is impossible for me in a short review to deal to my satisfaction with Mrs. Wootton's criticisms of our present arrangements and her proposals for improvements. Her book raises many questions, my answers to which would, I am sure, seem to her quite unconvincing. She deals faithfully, sensibly and fairly with many issues and yet in my own mind her book raises more questions than it answers. Even so I find her views more satisfying than those of most who have written on this difficult subject of a national or a rational wages policy. At least she understands clearly that the adoption of a wages policy in this country is a job for politicians. In short, we will not get what Mrs. Wootton wants unless and until the trade unions as at present constituted are re-formed and their autonomy limited.

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The Illusion of the Epoch by H. B. Acton. Pp. viii + 278.
Cohen & West Ltd., London, 1955. 18s.

This book is a remarkable achievement in respect of its scholarship, the critical judgment and philosophical acumen which it constantly displays and the high educational purpose which informs it. Professor Acton is that rare thing in the contemporary world: a philosopher who finds political problems a positive stimulus to his philosophical thinking and not just an excuse for applying the latest logical five-finger exercises in a new key; and he is also one of the few contemporary philosophers who knows how to combine sympathetic historical interpretation of the doctrines he is discussing with patient and remorseless exposure of their logical weaknesses. His book will certainly stand as an essential commentary for all serious students of Marxism for the next decade at least; moreover, the intelligent

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layman can learn from it a great deal about Marxist thinking and may incidentally gain from it an appreciation of the worth-whileness of certain contemporary philosophical methods.

The very existence of Marxist-Leninist philosophy is an extraordinary thing in view of what Marx and Lenin said on occasion about philosophy; but this surprising result is itself only one symptom of that split character of Marxist thought which it is perhaps the main merit of Professor Acton's study to reveal. Marxist philosophical ideas derive in almost equal measure from the anti-metaphysical, anti-systematic, tendency of eighteenth and early nineteenth century Empiricism and from that passion for system building which is characteristic of Hegelianism. Marx and Lenin often write of philosophy (other than that logic and methodology which they themselves favoured) with all the scorn of a Logical Positivist of the 1930's; and yet at the same time the strain of dogmatism which sustains their thinking against all objections, and which no doubt lends persuasive power to their slogans, is one which could only find support from a metaphysics as all-embracing as Hegel's own. In the event, Marxism-Leninism is taught, as a materialistic substitute for theology, in all the higher seats of learning beyond the Iron Curtain. But one wonders—taught to whom, and with what effect on the abler students of the natural and social sciences?

Professor Acton has extracted for study four sections of the Marxist-Leninist creed which, by traditional criteria, can properly be entitled philosophical. These are Lenin's Theory of Perception, Marxist Naturalism, the doctrine of Historical Materialism and Marxist Ethics. The first of these seems to me the least central to Marxism as a whole, for all that the reasons which led Lenin to expound his theory are highly symptomatic of the development of the sub-branches of Marxist thought. On the positive side Lenin's Theory of Perception amounts to little more than a touching faith in a few hack metaphors (perception is a 'reflection,' or a 'mirroring' of reality), but it also contains some very pertinent, if crudely worded, negative criticism of phenomenalist doctrines. Professor Acton holds the balance very fairly and gives Lenin full credit on the latter score. His treatment of Marxist Naturalism includes discussion of such dark topics as 'The Unity of Theory and Practice,' 'Marxist Dialectics,' 'The Transformation of Quantity into Quality,' and last but not least 'The Negation of the Negation.' Professor

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Acton shows that there is some sense behind some of these esoteric notions, which have been used in the modern world with an effect very similar to priestly spells and charms of old; but he also shows, with remarkable lucidity, that they contain confusions, elementary or subtle, which render them, as they stand, logically worthless. His criticisms of the doctrine of Historical Materialism form the kernel of his book. I am not sure that he is quite just to this theory in regarding it as basically a mere tautology. Certainly it is not a hypothesis in the proper sense of that word, but it might perhaps be regarded as an attempt to state a rule for the selection of historical hypotheses. On the other hand I know of no more telling criticism of the doctrine than those which he has provided. The last section of the book is perhaps the most interesting of all. Value-judgments are very queer intruders in the Marxist world-outlook. Yet they are to be found in it, and Professor Acton has done a great service in making this fact clear and in giving particularly close attention to the ethical principles pre-supposed in some of Marx's earliest writings. This is a side of Marxist thought which has not been developed—by orthodox Marxists anyhow; but Professor Acton has some very interesting things to say about the relation of Marx's own early ethical tendencies to those which have recently reappeared in the 'advanced' moral thinking of many Western writers. Here is a possible growing-point for future Marxist studies, say, into the eighteenth and early nineteenth century ethical roots of this Western heresy which has become a militant dogmatism of the East.

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Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy by Alvin W. Gouldner. Pp. 282. Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., London, 1955. 21s.

Wildcat Strike by Alvin W. Gouldner. Pp. 186. Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., London, 1955. 16s.

In spite of the ugliness and difficulty of the language in which much of these two books is written, they are both interesting. They are also puzzling.

The interest lies in the account which they give of organisation

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and industrial relations in a gypsum plant near the Great Lakes, as a result of a study made in the years 1948-51. Any description of the social life of an industrial undertaking based on close acquaintance must be of interest. In these studies it is heightened by the smallness of the plant (about 225 employees) which allows Mr. Gouldner to present a number of his characters as individuals, and by the contrast between the miners and the workers in the plant. The 75 miners reveal characteristics common to miners elsewhere, and their free-and-easy manners, both at work and outside, their friendliness and their robust resentment of authority clearly captured the hearts of the research team.

The candour and conviction of the description make us ready to accept the explanations Mr. Gouldner offers for the events his team observed. Head Office management felt that workers had become too slack under the easy-going 'Old Doug' and, on his death, instructed Peele, his successor, to tighten things up. Mr. Gouldner argues that the successor was driven to a number of steps—closer supervision, more rules, tighter enforcement, more paper-work and 'strategic replacements' in middle management—summarised as 'bureaucracy,' which inevitably increased resentment amongst the workers, and intensified on their part the behaviour which bureaucracy had been intended to correct. Ill-feeling eventually led to a 'wildcat' (i.e. unofficial) strike which the official union-management procedures were unable to contain because the workers were really striking against the violation of the old 'indulgence pattern,' rather than about a matter normally contained in a collective agreement. We are ready to accept this, despite the fact that 'Peele' is shown to have been an incompetent manager, and despite the loose marshalling of evidence. Nowhere, for instance, are we given a full comparison between the methods of 'Old Doug' and of 'Peele'; a few examples have to serve.

The puzzle comes with what is to Mr. Gouldner the most important part of each book, the attempt to construct general theories. In the first he criticises Weber's analysis of bureaucracy for its failure to recognise the importance of the attitude of the governed towards bureaucracy. So far so good. He continues to distinguish three patterns of bureaucracy—'mock,' 'representative,' and 'punishment-centered.' His example of 'representative' bureaucracy is the safety programme of the plant, under which a mass of rules was easily

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accepted, and infringements regarded as a matter for education rather than punishment. 'Representative,' however, is not a synonym for 'acceptable.' As any student of politics knows, the difficulties of representative government arise where it operates in fields in which 'tensions' are easily generated. Safety rules may be a matter for education where accidents affect only the errant individual, for instance the pedestrian. But where others are likely to be the victims, for example of dangerous driving, governments, representative or not, usually enforce rules by punishment. It is important to find out what makes rules acceptable, but these distinctions appear only to confuse.

The second attempt aims at no less than 'the rudiments of a general theory of group tensions.' It consists of putting each source of ill-feeling which seemed to be connected with the strike in the form of a general proposition relating to 'group tensions.' Thus the well-known conflict between seniority and efficiency in promotion is restated as: 'Tensions increase in the relations between Ego and Alter if either, or both, has a set of expectations which are mutually inconsistent, so that the satisfaction of one expectation leads to a violation of the other.' Does this help? The analysis of an unofficial strike leads to an understanding of other unofficial strikes, and perhaps of other forms of social conflict, but it is the analysis of the individual strike, and not pompous propositions of this sort, which serves as a guide.

In the introduction to the first book, Mr. Gouldner quoted with approval George Homans' statement that 'no one who studies a group will go far wrong if he gets close to it, and by whatever methods are available, observes all that he can.' We are indebted to Mr. Gouldner for all that he has done in this way, which is of far more value than his general theories.

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Voting by Bernard R. Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld and William N. McPhee. Pp. xix + 395. University of Chicago Press, Chicago (London: Cambridge University Press), 1954. 56s. 6d.

The People's Choice that Lazarsfeld and Berelson produced as an analysis of electoral behaviour in Erie County, Ohio, in 1940 was a pioneer study in its field. For the first time the techniques of the

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public opinion poll were employed to analyse the development of the voter's attitudes and intentions during the course of an electoral campaign in a community small enough to be isolated and closely observed. Now in *Voting* we have the report of a second, comparable study conducted in the town of Elmira, New York State, during the presidential election of 1948. Gratitude for the appearance of the report must be sharply tempered by regret at its late appearance; what ought to be in the reader's hand in time for him to check its findings by his own still fresh recollections and impressions now reaches him so long after the event that an initial chapter has to be devoted to a *résumé* of the historical setting of the events and opinions it describes.

Seriously though one laments this, this report nevertheless deserves a warm welcome from any student of elections and of political opinion. There is here a mine of information, factual about Elmira in 1948, but suggestive also of public opinion at other times and places. (Not of opinion only; there is useful material here on the actual processes of politics in a middling-sized American town.) A short review cannot begin to do justice to these findings. Some catch a British observer's eye immediately—e.g. the low level of contact between the American party and the voter—only about one quarter of the electorate in a months' long campaign. (One suspects, though, that in this 1948 was a below average year.) Again anyone familiar with the Greenwich Survey will observe with a wry smile that in Elmira too less than half the voters agreed with their party's position on certain major issues, such as the Taft-Hartley Act or price control.

Findings such as these prompt the authors to some interesting speculations on the discrepancy between the theory of democracy and the behaviour of the average voter (and non-voter), and the conclusions they arrive at are considerably less pessimistic than a casual glance at their findings might lead one to expect. Their book concludes with a formidable, but very useful, series of tables that for the first time seeks to correlate the findings of all comparable panel enquiries, both in the U.S.A. and in Britain. It is also a pleasure to record that, along with a distressing wealth of almost untranslatable jargon, there are summaries of the conclusions of each chapter written in clear, comprehensible and, as such, truly scientific prose.

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For a Science of Social Man. Edited by John Gillin.
Pp. viii + 289. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1954.
28s.

This volume is sub-titled 'Convergences in Anthropology, Psychology and Sociology' and contains contributions by leading American social scientists. The relation between anthropology and sociology from an anthropologist's view-point is discussed by George P. Murdock. The same subject is dealt with by Howard Becker as a sociologist. Murdock points out that the early influence of natural history over anthropology accounts for the prestige which ethnography has, in contrast with the low standing of 'sociography.' He emphasizes the need for more detailed descriptive studies of contemporary urban societies comparable in content with the numerous studies of primitive peoples. This is in line with his well known comparative work based upon the cross-cultural index at Yale and his use, in common with many other American anthropologists, of the term 'culture' in an all-embracing sense. Howard Becker refers to Murdock's attack on British social anthropologists, (originally published in *The American Anthropologist*), in which Murdock is somewhat contemptuous of the more selective studies, in terms of structure and function, which are characteristic of Radcliffe-Brown and all those who have been influenced by him in Britain. Becker also quotes the replies of Raymond Firth and Meyer Fortes. He concludes that contemporary British sociologists, as such, exert little or no influence on British social anthropology; if, indeed, it can be said that there are any contemporary British sociologists worthy of the name.

The relation between anthropology and psychology is dealt with by M. Brewster Smith as a psychologist and A. Irving Hallowell as an anthropologist. Both discuss critically recent developments in 'culture-personality' theory and urge the need for a clarification of concepts and a more stringent application of rules of scientific method to such studies.

Sociology and psychology, in their turn, are considered from the psychological point of view by T. M. Newcomb and from the sociological standpoint by Talcott Parsons. Both agree upon the central position which the concepts of 'role' and 'status' occupy in any analysis of social behaviour, whether the starting point be that of the individual or the social system. Perhaps because, for once, limitations

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of space restrain his natural verbosity, Parsons' exposition of the 'theory of action' in chapter 4 of this book, is the best available to date.

It is a pity that the editor, John Gillin, has not exercised his function to greater advantage. Several of the contributions would have benefited from judicious cutting and in his concluding chapter he misses a valuable opportunity. Inherent in all the papers in this volume is evidence of a very real convergence towards a science of social man which is at present masked by sterile controversies regarding terminology and conceptualization. Unfortunately, this volume does little to resolve them.

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Self-Portrait of Youth by G. W. Jordan and E. M. Fisher.
Pp. xi + 176. William Heinemann Ltd., London, 1955.
12s. 6d.

The Home-Menders by Basil Henriques. Pp. 192.
George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd., London, 1955. 10s. 6d.

Street Corner Society, 2nd Edition, by William Foote Whyte. Pp. xxii + 366. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago (London: Cambridge University Press), 1955. 37s. 6d.

The last decade has seen a great increase in the number of studies of human beings in their social settings. All these three books make a contribution to our knowledge in this field. *Self-Portrait of Youth* is particularly interesting because of the method adopted, the formation of a study group of adolescents arranged by two youth workers in order 'to help us to learn enough about them to find a common level at which their education could begin.' The illuminating discussions of the adolescent 'Brains Trust' so formed was recorded verbatim and forms the main substance of this book. The young people enquire into the lives of their contemporaries, their interests, their cliques and gangs and their delinquencies and, in so doing, learn a great deal about themselves and so increase their understanding and tolerance of others.

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Street Corner Society is the work of a trained pioneer in field work. William Foote Whyte lived in 'Corerville' for 18 months with an Italian family in order to get an intimate knowledge of the young people in a slum district in an American city inhabited almost exclusively by Italian immigrants and their children. He learned Italian in order to be able to talk to the older generation, and joined in the activities of the second generation of young men. The result was a sociological analysis of an Italian-American slum first published in 1943. But the main interest and importance for British readers of this new and enlarged edition will probably be Part III, in which the author outlines his conclusions and has much of great relevance to say about the dominant importance of the gang in such societies, group interaction and the essence of group leadership within the gang. Even more important, however, is the author's detailed analysis of his research method. His claim to science must rest on a meticulous accuracy of observation and a cool, objective approach to his data. He points out the strain that this entails. Research, by means of the adoption of a new identity or role by the enquirer, has tended to become discredited and the interview method of *Self-Portrait of Youth* was, for a time, regarded as a better basis for research. But we must admit that there is no real substitute for a long-term intimate relationship with a small group provided that the adoption of a role is not entirely artificial and provided that the effects of strain are allowed for in one's findings.

Sir Basil Henriques is also a pioneer in the field of social work to whom many of those of us who came later into the field owe much. Like Foote Whyte and others, he too, has lived in a highly industrialised slum, not for a few years in order to do a specific study, but for a lifetime, during which he made his home an oasis of cultured living in a wilderness, to the great happiness of countless numbers of young and old. This technique of living, together with his experiences as a juvenile court magistrate for 30 years, gives him the right to be heard with respect on many aspects of social work. His approach is always colourful, always sympathetic toward the unhappy poor that he knows so well. In *The Home Menders* he makes a study of the home and the methods by which unhappiness, which so often leads to delinquency, might be prevented.

The book is highly subjective, often tendentious, but no less a social document of great poignancy. The bad home does not now

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lack organisations interested in and concerned about it, but the failure of the problem home is basically the failure of the society around it and the almost incredible fragmentation of the social agencies attempting to deal with it. *The Home Menders* is a plea for a greater simplification of welfare organisations and, though the sociologist and psychologist may find much to quarrel with, its fundamental principles are not necessarily unsound.

J. MACALISTER BREW

National Association of Girls' Clubs & Mixed Clubs, London.

Working-Class Anti-Semite by James H. Robb.
Pp. xiv + 239. Tavistock Publications, Ltd., London,
1954. 15s.

A Minority in Britain. Edited by Maurice Freedman.
Pp. xvi + 279. Valentine, Mitchell & Co., Ltd.,
London, 1955. 21s.

The Coloured Quarter by M. P. Banton. Pp. 254.
Jonathan Cape, London, 1955. 21s.

In the last few years sociologists in this country have been turning their attention to minority groups. This new-found interest follows on the plethora of American studies dealing with similar groups. Reasons for the vast sociological literature on the minority aspects of the American scene are not hard to find. In the U.S.A. apart from the largest minority, the Negroes, there are numerous groups ranging from the Mexicans to the Japanese whose presence creates problems of adjustment and assimilation. The case is somewhat different in Britain. Here there are only two major minority groups of any significance—the Jewish community, and the groups comprising West Indians, Africans, and Indians, which is sometimes described as the Coloured minority. Neither of these groups has in the past provided what purports to be a 'social problem' in the American sense. This may well explain the belated interest exhibited by British sociologists.

Two of the studies reviewed here are concerned with the Jewish minority. The third, Dr. Banton's *The Coloured Quarter* deals with a Negro community in London's dockland.

Dr. Robb in his *Working-Class Anti-Semite* has attempted a

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socio-psychological analysis of anti-semitism in Bethnal Green in London. This socio-psychological approach does not appear to be too satisfactory. One is never sure that the assessment of say Rorschach tests is necessarily of direct relevance to an interpretation of social behaviour. This type of enquiry is an example of the contemporary trend to marry methodologies in the hope that the result will be scientific. It is not always so. The core of the book is a series of case studies which were built up from 'free' interviews. The device of the 'free' interview undoubtedly has advantages and Dr. Robb obtained much interesting and useful information. The weakness of Dr. Robb's approach is revealed in his chapter 'A Theory of Anti-Semitism' in which he endeavours to explain the development of anti-semitism in terms of rejection experienced in childhood. The value of the enquiry lies in the descriptive material so admirably provided.

The volume of studies edited by Maurice Freedman has contributions by James Parkes, H. Neustatter, Howard Brotz and the editor himself. This is undoubtedly a very real contribution to our knowledge of the Jewish communities in this country. Dr. Parkes' essay on the history of the Anglo-Jewish community is marked by an acute historical sense and an appreciation of the problems affecting Jewish settlement in England. The demographic essay by Dr. Neustatter supplies a long-felt want in this field of studies. It is hoped that more detailed enquiries into specific communities in this country will be made in the future.

The other two essays in the book by Dr. Brotz and Maurice Freedman deal with the development and structure of Jewish society in England. The authors have in a comparatively short space succeeded in emphasizing the major aspects of this segment of our society.

As a whole this book does fill the gap which the publishers in their foreword describe as 'the lack of any serious sociological study' of this kind. It is curious that in this country Jewish scholars appear to have devoted so little attention to the problems attendant upon the growth of the Jewish community. It is hoped that this timely volume marks the beginning of a series of more detailed studies dealing with Jewish communities in Britain.

The inevitable comparison to be made with Dr. Banton's book is A. H. Richmond's recent study, *Colour Prejudice in Britain*. Both deal with the Coloured population in sea port towns. Another point of

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similarity is that both Mr. Richmond and Dr. Banton are English observers of Coloured communities. Dr. Banton feels impelled to claim that he attempted to be objective in his approach, and that in the course of the research he shed any bias he had both in favour of the Coloured people and English folk and officials. The problem of objectivity in this sense is one which students are only now becoming aware of as attention is being focussed on our own society.

The Coloured Quarter here discussed is in Stepney which has long had a population of seamen and shore-workers from the West Indies, West Africa and elsewhere. In a sense these people have created their own community and it is legitimate to treat them as a unit for purposes of analysis. The strength of the book is in its treatment of factual conditions—its weakness lies in the conclusions which tail off into generalities and hypotheses.

These three books represent an addition to the meagre literature of the sociology of Britain. Yet, admirable as they are, the impression is given that their relevance would be so much greater if there were extant investigations of communities in this country which were not in the category of the minority. It might be suggested that it is time sociologists in Britain became preoccupied with problems of structure and function in 'normal' communities. A study of the 'normal' family in this society has yet to be written.

University of Leeds

L. F. HENRIQUES

West Highland Survey. Edited by F. Fraser Darling.
Pp. xvi + 438. Oxford University Press (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege), 1955. 30s.

One must congratulate Dr. Fraser Darling on the provision of an abundance of basic facts which one hopes may prove to be a foundation stone of a reconstruction of Highland economy. None could be better suited to the task, and his own love of the area is reflected in the efforts of the individual members of his team. Much has been written on schemes for revival but all too often the authors have not known, and did not take the trouble to get to know, their Highlands.

This survey is confined to the West Highlands but much of its story might well be applied in other parts. As an example, deforestation was not confined to the West and its effects have been equally serious elsewhere.

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The careful analysis of the geographical background and its application to the more detailed survey of the ecology of the land use is most welcome, as is the historical summary which introduces the uninformed reader to the implications of a clan system. The long chapter on population includes a careful consideration of the change in age structure and an assessment of the causes of the changes, such as the collapse of the fishing industry with the First World War. Earlier the southward drift of population to the Central Lowlands and beyond had set the general trend which might be capable of arrest if an economic graft could be achieved without a resultant submergence of the Highland culture. Dr. Darling emphasizes that such schemes as those of the Forestry Commission and the North of Scotland Electricity Board initially were not assessed in relation to cultural effects, though members of both these authorities have now become aware of the need to consider this problem.

The crucial problem is one of finance. The necessary money for any development must come from without, but it is essential that any scheme of rehabilitation should be administered by those within the Highlands, or at least by those who understand the people and their environment.

The chapter on the social situation is the result of much careful field work and concludes by emphasizing that the task undertaken was one of collecting and presenting evidence and not of producing a plan of rehabilitation. The team has succeeded in its task ; may the authorities without take due note and formulate a plan which is acceptable within the West Highlands. Those whose knowledge of the area is little have no excuse now for its becoming dangerous.

*Birkbeck College,
University of London.*

H. C. K. HENDERSON

Interviewing in Social Research by Herbert H. Hyman.
Pp. xvi + 415. University of Chicago Press, Chicago
(London : Cambridge University Press), 1954. 60s.

Increasing use of the interview as a means of gauging opinions and attitudes in modern communities has inevitably and rightly provoked questions about its validity. Particularly in the United States a number of attempts have been made to enquire into factors connected with the circumstances of its use, its conduct, and the

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personality of the interviewer, which might impugn or even undermine its scientific reputation. This book contains a report of the most thorough-going and determined of these attempts to date, instituted by the National Opinion Research Center with the support of the Rockefeller Foundation. Woven into this material are accounts of a number of other investigations in the same field which have not hitherto been brought conveniently together. Anybody with a serious interest, whether academic or practical, in the interview ought to read it with care, heavy going though much of it is.

Dr. Hyman and his associates concerned themselves chiefly with one rather special kind of interview. In this the interviewer collects, in a planned or partly planned encounter, data regarding the degrees of belief, attitude or opinion current in a social group. A public opinion poll is a simple instance. The data sought, and the degrees which can be established, are already categorised in terms of the questions asked, and the result is of statistical not individual import. As such, the procedure lends itself to quantitative investigation of its own validity, including the contribution of the individual interviewer. So far as this enquiry goes, the author concludes that some at least of the supposed pitfalls in such a procedure are not so serious as they have been made out to be, while others can be whittled down by careful planning and control. Dr. Hyman would, however, certainly be ready to agree that interviews used for other purposes, such for instance as the assessment of personal qualities in relation to employment, raise very different problems, as regards both their character and the conditions affecting their validity. The very expression 'the interview' stirs up a fog which impedes perception of its various utilities and underlying processes. But in relation to one definable and currently prominent kind of interview he and his fellow-workers have done much to replace conjecture and prejudice by empirical findings capable of further check. This is a contribution which cannot be disregarded by any who are concerned with the development of techniques in social science.

University of Reading

R. C. OLDFIELD

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Studying your Community by Roland L. Warren.
Pp. xii + 385. Russell Sage Foundation, New York,
1955. \$3.00.

Prejudice, War and the Constitution by Jacobus
tenBrock, Edward N. Barnhart and Floyd W.
Matson. Pp. xii + 408. University of California Press,
(London: Cambridge University Press), California,
1954. 37s. 6.

Dynamics of Groups at Work by Herbert A. Thelen.
Pp. ix + 379. University of Chicago Press, (London:
Cambridge University Press), Chicago, 1954. 45s.

These books are very different in calibre, outlook, and usefulness, but all are of interest to sociologists.

The Russell Sage Foundation in 1911 issued a pamphlet for the use of social workers, which was expanded by Joanna Colcord into *Your Community* (1939). *Studying Your City* is in turn an expansion and development of Colcord's much used book. It is a manual designed primarily for laymen and for workers in social agencies who want to make detailed surveys before launching into 'action programmes.'

In twenty chapters Warren sets out the areas which a community survey might need to tackle, from background and setting through law, planning, education, health and so forth to organisation and informal structures. Each chapter begins with a very brief and elementary introduction, and then works out questions which need to be asked about its particular topic. Students would find it helpful for an introductory course in social surveying, since it shows how to organise a plan, gives hints on interviewing and how to communicate the aims of a survey, and touches on intergroup relations and informal group processes. As a strictly practical handbook, it does not attempt to compete with, for instance, the small book by Caradog Jones on *Social Surveys* or Lundberg's methodologically oriented *Social Research*.

Prejudice, War and the Constitution takes us into the study of what actually happens in a society to the balance of the forces of integration and disintegration, or of conservation and change, under given conditions of legal, economic and ideological stress, when the

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loci of power and responsibility are changed. It is a beautifully written, tightly packed, factual yet consistently lucid and interest-compelling study of the political and constitutional aspects of an early phase in World War II. Unlike a treatise on pure sociology, this book does not hide the fact that the authors feel deeply about the issues, and are ready, as liberals, at the end of their analyses to raise the cry 'J'Accuse' against a liberal administration—that of Roosevelt—for having been the instrument of a 'flagrant breach of the nation's constitutional and moral ideals' (p. 327).

It is not easy to review this book briefly, because exposition and argument are so closely interwoven, and there is no padding. I feel it should be read by everyone who is interested in or concerned at the way in which and the speed with which the very foundations of the legal and constitutional structure of a culture pattern can be changed.

On December 7th, 1941, the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbour. On the following day some hundreds of citizens of Japan, Germany and Italy in California were imprisoned, and curfew restrictions were imposed on enemy aliens. Within a few months some 112,000 people of Japanese origin, two-thirds of whom were U.S. citizens, were evacuated from the West coast to the interior of the continent and detained behind barbed wire in concentration camps for two and a half years.

Just before the actual event, when it had become clear that it would come about, a group of social scientists at the University of California began to study the developing episodes and their effects. Field observations continued, under the direction of Professor Dorothy S. Thomas, until December, 1945. The group received support from the University, the Rockefeller and Columbia Foundations, and disbanded in 1948. Two volumes, already well known, have been published (*The Spoilage* in 1944 and *The Salvage* in 1952) on the experiences of Japanese Americans during the detention phases and their resettlement problems respectively. The material is obviously so voluminous that we may expect several more studies. The volume now being reviewed deals with the administrative, executive and military side, and the various legal decisions up to the Supreme Court.

It is in four parts: Genesis deals with the historical roots of the anti-oriental stereotypes and their epidemic activation when the war began; Exodus with the evacuation itself and the attribution of

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responsibility; Leviticus analyses the role of the Courts; and the Conclusion summarises the judgments of the authors as to the interacting roles played in this astonishing assault on constitutional rights by the military, the executive and the Supreme Court, and the nature and effects of stereotyped attitudes activated by collective hysteria. Not the least important feature of the work is that it shows how racialism was handled as an ideological tool by a political democracy which, in times relatively free of hot or cold wars, officially refuses to discriminate between 'in-groups' and 'out-groups' or first class and other classes of citizens under its constitution.

The following quotations (p. 327) illustrate the theory of racialism generated in California by the history of attitudes to Orientals and the use made of activated prejudices. They are from a single paragraph in General de Witt's final report, which sought to justify these actions on grounds of military necessity: 'The very fact that no sabotage has taken place to date is a disturbing and confirming indication that such action will be taken'; and 'The Japanese race is an enemy race and while many second and third generation Japanese born on United States soil, possessed of United States citizenship have become "Americanized," the racial strains are undiluted.'

The Dynamic of Groups at Work is concerned with the interactive processes between individual personalities and groups within the general settings of the institutions of a society. Characteristically, the first chapter is called 'Rebuilding the Community through Citizen Action.' It outlines the steps taken, through group discussion, decision-making and action, to halt the complete physical and social deterioration which threatened an overcrowded Chicago suburb. This general 'case-study' throws up most of the problems to be discussed in later parts of the book: the nature and complexity of the citizen role and its virtual 'invisibility' or 'incommunicability' in a large city; the connection between motivation and morale as both sustained and generated by interaction within groups; the difference between the governing action of stereotypes or ideologies and of communication followed by discussion, debate and agreement. Subsidiary technical problems arise: recruitment, training and leadership.

The next five chapters are similarly concerned with practical problems: of the school and its relation to the community; administration and management; the conduct of effective meetings; and the

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'laboratory' (i.e. self-conscious) method of training people for watching over the mental health and progress of a working group. The second part, also of six chapters, attempts to draw together into a somewhat more systematic framework the kinds of practical problems raised earlier.

As a whole the book gives the impression of being discursive and at times irritatingly chatty. Little attempt is made to integrate the various observations and interpretations of what happens in a group into a theory of group dynamics. Not a single diagram or quantitative table punctuates the smooth flow of talk. Quite fundamental personality and group problems, such as those discussed by Riesman under the terms 'inner-directed' and 'other-directed,' or the relation between the needs for retreat and contemplation of the scholar and the demands of overt citizenship whether in a classroom group or the community at large, are hardly mentioned. Nevertheless even the systematic sociologist will find here a rich fund of suggestive observations about what goes on in the minds and emotions of the members of groups, and of how the pattern of social process and state might be thought to be formed from the totality of interacting groups. The contrast with the first book reviewed above could hardly be greater. There the pedestrian grind of fact finding questionnaires, the reduction of humanity to statistics, necessary if one wants the kinds of facts on which economists and city engineers thrive; here the (often chaotic) meaningfulness or misunderstandings of human beings in all their interpersonal sensitiveness, dependency, and needs for security, recognition and a sense of purposeful belonging.

University of Melbourne.

O. A. OESER.

Social Relations in the Urban Parish by Joseph H. Fichter. Pp. vii + 264. University of Chicago Press, Chicago (London: Cambridge University Press), 1954. 41s. 6d.

Father Fichter has made a careful analysis of the composition of Church members and of the social implications of Church membership in selected Roman Catholic urban parishes in America. He has enquired into the ages, sexes and activities of the parishioners and he reveals the strength of the Church among the young and the elderly,

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especially women. The middle groups are less susceptible to religious influences, partly owing to the cares of domestic life, and partly to the contradictory influences resulting from the pressures of earning a living.

Contrary to a popular supposition, Father Fichter's analysis proves that group loyalty among Roman Catholics in social and political affairs is not strong. A middle class Roman Catholic is more likely to make common cause with a middle class Protestant or agnostic than with a proletarian co-religionist. This fact is of considerable importance for a Church which believes it should play a prominent part in determining the patterns of society.

Father Fichter's work is a valuable pioneer effort. But is it really necessary for a sociologist to murder the English language?—e.g. 'The attempt to classify all the members of a socio-religious aggregate into their various subgroups and categories, or to stratify them in a hierarchy from the nuclear to the dormant . . .' (p.83) 'The secularization and compartmentalisation of religion may also be discussed in terms of either the single-role or the multiple-role schema of human behaviour in society.' (p.3).

And the University of Chicago Press should avoid dropping bricks. Why is chapter two repeated?

*The University Church,
Cambridge.*

M. STOCKWOOD

English Social Differences by T. H. Pear. Pp. 318. Allen and Unwin, London, 1955. 18s.

English social differences, like the differences to be found in any other society, cover a wide range: man and woman, Jew and Gentile, Wolves and Chelsea, mild and bitter. But, for Professor Pear, *English Social Differences* relate only to social stratification.

To see social stratification everywhere is not necessarily a sin, though it can be a bore. More sinful is that although he detects stratification everywhere, he describes it systematically nowhere. Analysis therefore, is not to be expected of him.

We get a hint of what is to come in the first few pages, which are intended to introduce us to the key concepts of the book. We could have done with a little more clarity in definition, even at the expense

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of the entertaining variety, which takes us from Cantril and Sherif to Yeatman and Sellar (*Horse Nonsense*). In defining, or rather discussing 'status,' Professor Pear quotes undigested chunks from a dozen writers, ranging from Alfred Marshall to Aneurin Bevan. It is perhaps as well that Mosca, Max Weber, Pareto and Marx are absent from this assembly and, indeed, from the whole book. Thus used, they could only have added to the Babel.

The result of this uncritical attempt to be all things to all men would have been foretold by Humpty Dumpty: the word 'status,' liberated from its original masters, runs wild and means precisely nothing.

If Professor Pear's definitions are confused, his usage is chaotic. As witness, his use of the concept of stratification. This he defines conventionally, quoting Sorokin on 'upper and lower social layers' (p.11). But the difficulty with this spatial metaphor is that nothing has been discovered in social structure as unquestionably real and as easily measurable as gravity, which defines 'up' and 'down.' Unless one is very clear about what exactly 'up' and 'down' mean in social terms, (and Professor Pear does not even mention the problem) one ends up with this sort of thing: 'Most strata, however, run obliquely; some are nearly vertical.' (p.18) Unqualified and unexplained, this dictum is a candidate for the Department of Utter Confusion.

Again, Professor Pear begins by distinguishing between 'stratum' (objective) and 'class' (subjective). He states that 'this view will be taken throughout the present book' (p.11). Yet, by Chapter Ten, he is using the terms interchangeably (see especially p.213).

Professor Pear is not the first who has failed to give a systematic account of English (stratified) social differences. But, in truth, he has not even tried. We are presented with a dozen essays, whose titles range from 'Psychological Aspects of English Social Stratification' to 'Snobs' and 'Eating and Drinking.' 'Snobs' might really be the title of the whole book, because, whatever an essay is supposed to be discussing, it never gets far from the prying processes of pride and prejudice, which make up the snobbery of the English middle classes.

Given his preoccupation with snobbery, Professor Pear is an acute observer. The cut of a suit, phonetic nuances, embarrassing situations of all kinds—Professor Pear snaps them up right smartly. Such observations are nothing more—and certainly nothing less—than jottings in the notebook of an enthusiastic amateur of the social

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scene. The acuity and the inconsequence of some of these observations might draw from a sociologist the comment: '*C'est magnifique, mais ce n'est pas la discipline.*'

London

T. J. H. BISHOP

Helvétius by Ian Cumming. Pp. xi + 260. Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd., London, 1955. 25s.

All research should fill gaps. But this book fills a gaping hole. For hitherto the only study of Helvétius in English was the brief chapter by W. H. Wickwar in Hearnshaw's *French Thinkers of the Age of Reason* (Harrap, 1930), though the apostle of *l'éducation peut tout* was a veritable architect of the eighteenth century. Mr. Cumming's book, which is a biography as well as an assessment, is full, definitive and very readable. Read against the background of Paul Hazard's two monumental works on European thought in that century, it comes even more into its own: which is all the greater tribute in that Mr. Cumming does not appear to have read Hazard. The treatment leads up from influences such as John Locke, and down from Helvétius' *De L'Esprit* to his own influence on Talleyrand and Condorcet on the Continent and on the Utilitarians in this country. The closing chapter, 'Teaching Nations how to live' (by that dreadful myth of enlightened self-interest), draws all the threads together.

*King's College,
University of London*

A. C. F. BEALES

Education and the Modern Mind by W. R. Niblett. Pp. 155. Faber and Faber, London, 1954. 8s. 6d.

This book admits that we are all indoctrinated by our historical, social and cultural setting, and that we should consider many popular educational theories in this light—for example, we cannot 'educate for individuality' without postulating that this presupposes a commitment to group understanding and membership.

Written from a Christian standpoint, this is not a technically philosophic book. It is critical of linguistic philosophers, and leans heavily on existentialists like Jaspers, Marcei and Heidegger, and poets like

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Wordsworth and Coleridge. Professor Niblett asserts in different ways that many of man's most important experiences happen to him, and are not achievements. The book is full of wisdom expressed in pregnant sentences, and is likely to provoke discussion among the students of education in training colleges and universities. In that sense it is valuable. But to have done more justice to the title it should have been at least four times as long, and more precise in its philosophic, psychological and sociological reference.

University College of North Staffordshire. W. A. C. STEWART

NOTES

JOINT UNIVERSITY COUNCIL FOR SOCIAL & PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Bibliography of Social Work and Administration

During the last quarter century the social services have undergone radical and far reaching changes. It is not only that statutory provision now covers a much wider field of needs, but also it has gradually come to embody new principles. Moreover, much of the change that has taken place has been as much to the development in administrative methods as to statutory instruments.

To a large extent the discussions on controversial policies and administrative techniques have been carried on in periodical magazines and the journals of societies of special interest, with the result that it has become more and more difficult for those interested either to trace the beginnings of changing ideas and requirements, or to keep abreast of current arguments.

The Joint University Council for Social and Public Administration, therefore, commissioned Miss F. M. Birkett, M.A., F.L.A., to compile, on its behalf, a classified bibliography of articles that have appeared in British journals between the years 1930-1952. In addition to certain general types of article, the classification covers :

Population : Eugenics.

Labour

Social Work

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- Social Casework
- Social Services: Specific Services
- Criminology and Penology
- Social Psychology
- Leisure

As this is the first bibliography of its type to be published, it is thought that it will be found of great value not only to universities, but to organisations working within the field of social services, and the reference libraries used by students of the social sciences. Copies which cost £2 each, can be obtained from:

The Joint University Council for Social & Public Administration,
5, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.

Arrangements have been made for the issue of periodic supplements to keep the bibliography up to date. The first of these is now ready and covers the years 1952-53 and costs £1. It is hoped that future supplements will cover shorter periods and therefore cost less.

Behavioral Science, a new quarterly journal, official publication of the new Mental Health Research Institute at the University of Michigan, will begin appearing in January, 1956. It will contain articles on general theories of behaviour and on empirical research specifically oriented towards such theories. An interdisciplinary approach to problems of behaviour will be stressed. Although the scope of the journal will include all aspects of behaviour which can be subsumed under broadly general interdisciplinary theory, in the field of application special emphasis will be placed on contributions relating to research in mental health and disease.

The editorial board will include Franz Alexander (psychoanalysis), Alex Bavelas (social psychology), David Easton (political science), Ralph W. Gerard (neurophysiology), Donald G. Marquis (psychology), James G. Miller (psychology and psychiatry), Jacob Marschak (economics), Anatol Rapoport (mathematical biology), Ralph W. Tyler (education), and Raymond W. Waggoner (psychiatry).

Subscriptions will be \$6.00 a year. Manuscripts and subscriptions may be sent in care of Dr. James G. Miller, Mental Health Research Institute, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

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- BERG, CHARLES: *The First Interview with a Psychiatrist*, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London, 1955, 18s.
- BERNAL, J. D.: *Science in History*, Watts & Co., London, 1954, 42s.
- LE GROS CLARK, F.: *Ageing Men in the Labour Force*, Nuffield Foundation, London, 1955.
- CHASE, STUART: *Power of Words*, Phoenix House Ltd., London, 1955, 18s.
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